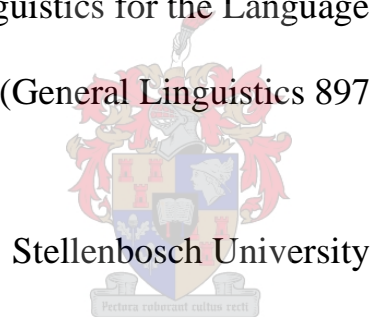


English as a Lingua Franca and English in South Africa: distinctions and overlap

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

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Signature

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Date

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the prevalent, typical linguistic and discursive features of English as it is used as a shared medium of communication by speakers who do not share a first language in the Western Cape (i.e. as a *lingua franca*). These features were compared to those found in certain second-language varieties in South Africa, namely Black South African English, Cape Flats English and Afrikaans English.

Fourteen female students from the University of Stellenbosch between the ages of 18 and 27 from various first language backgrounds were recruited for the data collection. A closed corpus was created in which recordings were made of semi-structured conversations between the participants, paired in seven groups of two speakers each. These recordings were then transcribed. In order to identify and analyse the English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) phenomena that arose, reference was made to the various linguistic features and methods of analysis of ELF suggested in House (2002), Seidlhofer (2004) and Meierkord (2000), amongst others. These features were then analysed and compared with the features reported in the literature on second-language varieties of English in South Africa.

The study reveals that the South African ELF spoken by the participants displays similar features to the ELF(s) spoken in Europe, although certain European ELF features that occur in South African ELF are used to fulfil different functions. The study disclosed three ELF phenomena which have not been reported as such in the European ELF literature and therefore seem to be unique to the South African ELF context. Specifically, these are auxiliary dropping (AUX-drop), explicit self-doubt of a speaker's own ELF proficiency, and thinking aloud. Finally, certain South African ELF features are also reported to be features of South African second-language varieties (e.g. AUX-drop).

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek heersende, tipiese eienskappe van Engels wat beskryf word as linguisties en diskursief, spesifiek soos die eienskappe voorkom in Engels as 'n gemeenskaplike vorm van kommunikasie tussen sprekers in die Wes-Kaap wat nie 'n eerste taal gemeen het nie (m.a.w. waar Engels as 'n *lingua franca* gebruik word). Dié eienskappe is vergelyk met ander wat gevind is in sekere tweedetaal-variëteite in Suid-Afrika, naamlik *Black South African English*, *Cape Flats English* en sg. *Afrikaans English*.

Veertien vroulike studente van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch tussen die ouderdomme van 18 en 27 en met 'n verskeidenheid eerstetaal-agtergronde is gebruik vir die data-insameling. 'n Geslote korpus is gevorm bestaande uit opnames van semi-gestruktureerde gesprekke tussen die deelnemers. Laasgenoemde is verdeel in sewe groepe van twee sprekers elk. Hierdie opnames is later getranskribeer. Ten einde die relevante Engels-as-lingua-franca (ELF)-verskynsels te identifiseer en te analiseer, is daar eerstens gekyk na verskeie linguistiese eienskappe en metodes van analise van ELF soos voorgestel deur, onder andere, House (2002, 2009), Seidlhofer (2004) en Meierkord (2000). Hierna is die waargenome eienskappe geanaliseer en vergelyk met die eienskappe wat gerapporteer is in die literatuur oor tweedetaal-variëteite van Engels in Suid-Afrika.

Die studie toon dat die Suid-Afrikaanse ELF wat deur die deelnemers gebruik word, soortgelyke eienskappe vertoon as ELF in die Europese konteks, met die uitsondering dat sekere Europese ELF-eienskappe wat in Suid-Afrikaanse ELF voorkom, plaaslik ander funksies vervul. Drie ELF-verskynsels wat nie as sodanig in die literatuur oor Europese ELF gerapporteer is nie, is gevind en is dus waarskynlik eiesoortig aan die Suid-Afrikaanse ELF-konteks. Dít sluit in hulpwerkwoord-weglating (sg. AUX-drop), eksplisiete uitspraak van onsekerheid oor 'n spreker se eie ELF-bevoegdheid, en hardop dink. Ten slotte is daar ook gevind dat sekere Suid-Afrikaanse ELF-eienskappe tegelykertyd eienskappe van Suid-Afrikaanse tweedetaal-variëteite is, soos bv. weglating van die hulpwerkwoord.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ELF	–	English as a Lingua Franca
E-L1	–	English as a First Language
E-L2	–	English as a Second Language
E-L3	–	English as a Third Language
L1	–	First Language
L2	–	Second Language
L3	–	Third Language
VOICE	–	Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English
LFC	–	Lingua Franca Core
ASE	–	American Standard English
BSE	–	British Standard English
ELFA	–	English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings
HMP	–	Hotel Management Program
BSAE	–	Black South African English
CFE	–	Cape Flats English
AfrE	–	Afrikaans English
AUX	–	Auxiliary
PSO	–	Private Student Organisations
Non-L1	–	Non First Language
SOV	–	Subject Object Verb
SVO	–	Subject Verb Object
NP	–	Noun Phrase

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Transcription conventions for the examples from the data for this study only

- . Indicates the end of the utterance.
- [...] Indicates that the following utterance(s) is not relevant to the current discussion and has been omitted.
- ... Shows the position where the speaker pauses and/or reformulates.
- Indicates an incomplete utterance where the speaker may have been interrupted and completed the sentence later on.
- “ ” Indicates reported speech.
- [] Words in square brackets are inserted by the author for the sake of grammaticality of the utterances; i.e. they are not the ELF speaker's own words.
- Ø Indicates the omission or deletion of a specific lexical item.
- = Symbol used to stand for *meaning*

(inaudible) Indicates an unintelligible (part of an) utterance.

Italics are used within the text to refer to linguistic examples quoted from the literature and the data and also to emphasise the part of the utterance in the example which is being discussed.

VOICE transcription conventions (only used in quoted examples from the European literature)

- @ Indicates laughter
- (2 sec) Indicates a pause of two seconds
- [] Words in square brackets indicate overlapping speech

For DJ

*“But Sean don’t get careless. I’m sure it’ll be fine.
I love you, I love you, Oh brother of mine”**

* Fleet Foxes. (2008).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextual overview

English as a lingua franca (ELF) has become a topic of linguistic interest because of how widely it is used in intercultural communication worldwide. It is a fact that, in the global context, non-first language (non-L1) English speakers outnumber first language English (E-L1) speakers (House 2002: 246). English has become the most widely used language, even between non-L1 speakers, for trade, politics, education, academia, etc. Thus, there is an interest in the different varieties of English that are developing and being used worldwide.

South Africa is no exception with regard to English having developed as a lingua franca in a multilingual population where more than 10 other languages are established as indigenous L1s. In such a linguistically and culturally diverse population it is hardly possible that speakers of any one language will know and communicate widely and in public by means of any one of the other community languages. As a former colonial language, as an official language of the country since 1910 (Kirkpatrick 2007: 106), and as a widely used language of education, English is a second language (L2) to a majority of the South African population. Thus, this language has fairly naturally developed into the lingua franca of the region (as has been the case in many other former British domains). As a long-established language of power-holders and also as a significant global language, English is viewed as a powerful, prestigious language which is known to have contributed to improved life chances for many of its speakers. As such, it is the primary medium of instruction for the majority of L1 and non-L1 speakers and is taught as an L2 in all schools where it is not the primary language of learning.

1.2 Some influential ELF research

Recognition of the unique functions and features of ELF and suggestions of a new approach to research on patterns of language use that characterise ELF interactions, have recently come from scholars working at a number of European institutions. Their work

illustrates the new research interest as well as theoretical approaches and methodologies typically used in ELF enquiry.

House (2002) analysed interesting communicative phenomena that typically arise during ELF interaction. She analysed one semi-structured, face-to-face interaction conducted in ELF between four participants of both sexes (aged between 25 and 35) who had different L1s (German, Korean, Chinese and Indonesian). The group was asked to read an article and discuss it amongst themselves. The conversation lasted approximately 30 minutes. The interaction was recorded and then transcribed to facilitate the analysis. Two weeks after the discussion had taken place, the participants were called back and provided with transcriptions of their conversation while they listened to their recorded discussion. They were then requested to comment on how they and their conversational partners had handled the discussion and, specifically, to discuss the parts of the interaction where there were misunderstandings or miscommunications. House's findings are presented in Section 2.6.1.

Seidlhofer (2004) believes that ELF rather than E-L1 curricula should be devised and implemented in foreign-language teaching of English in those communities identified in Kachru's (1985) Expanding Circle (see Section 2.4). She notes, however, that certain conditions have to be met before ELF can be taught to these learners, the most important of which is a description of ELF's most prominent features (in comparison with those of E-L1) which will result in the acknowledgement of ELF as a natural language in its own right. The author believes that this will lead to the recognition of its speakers as legitimate language users in their own right, rather than being identified as E-L2 speakers who do not measure up to the norms and standards of E-L1 speakers. Further discussion of this paper is presented in Section 2.6.2.

Meierkord (2000) analysed the features of ELF in small-talk conversations. The interactions that she studied were also naturally-occurring and face-to-face. Participants of both sexes (between the ages of 20 and 30) were recorded in a student hall of residence for international students in the United Kingdom. These interactions were also recorded and transcribed which allowed for the analysis of the communicative phenomena that arose. Meierkord's findings are presented in Section 2.6.3.

1.3 Research questions

As has been remarked in Section 1.2, there are several researchers who have studied and analysed the structure and use of ELF in Europe. However, little research has been carried out on ELF in South Africa. This thesis addresses such a “gap” by investigating some typical, prevalent linguistic and discursive features of ELF, attending also to the distinction between researching ELF and researching L2 varieties of English. Varieties of South African English that have been identified as L2 varieties include Black South African English, Cape Flats English and Afrikaans English¹. The following research questions have directed this research project, which is primarily interested in ELF in South Africa, with attention to ELF data collected in the Western Cape province:

- 1) Following recent research on English as a lingua franca (ELF), what structures can be identified as typical linguistic and discursive markers of ELF in the Western Cape?
- 2) When English is used as a lingua franca between speakers of different South African languages, in a closed corpus, which typical ELF features are prevalent?
- 3) When English is used as a lingua franca between speakers of different South African languages, in a closed corpus, which English L2 features occur which are apparently unique to this particular constellation of languages?

1.4 Research methodology

In the data analysis of this study, one could either look at the linguistic features that arise in the ELF conversations from an ELF perspective or an E-L2 variety perspective. However, as will become evident through the progression of this thesis, it becomes increasingly difficult to categorise the features that arise due to the fact that some of them are reported in the literature on both ELF and E-L2 varieties in South Africa. For this reason, a literature review on ELF features as well as features of South African E-L2 varieties will be provided

¹ There appear to be growing numbers of first-language speakers of these varieties in South Africa, to the extent that these South African English varieties may be categorized and viewed as New Englishes and not merely L2 varieties.

in this thesis. The data analysis of a small sample of conversations will be described in ELF terms as well as E-L2 variety terms.

1.4.1 Data collection procedure

The ELF data for this thesis were collected by the researcher and analysed for identification of any potential or definite features of ELF. Fourteen female students were recruited from the University of Stellenbosch who were between the ages of 18 to 27 and from various L1 backgrounds. In addition, all of the participants are in their first years of studying towards their respective Bachelor of Arts degrees except one, who is in her third year of studying towards a Bachelor of Commerce degree in Accounting, and another who is in her first year of her Bachelor of Speech and Hearing Therapy degree. A brief questionnaire was set up in order to obtain the necessary personal language histories of each participant². A closed corpus was created in which recordings were made (using a digital voice recorder) of semi-structured conversations between the participants who were paired in seven groups of two speakers each. These conversations were semi-structured in nature and had only female participants within this age range so as to control variables which could affect language production. Furthermore, naturally-occurring data would be more difficult to collect, categorise and meaningfully compare without some control of the topic to be discussed. Each conversation took place at the University of Stellenbosch and lasted approximately 60 minutes. A total of approximately seven hours worth of conversation was recorded. The researcher was present during the conversations as a facilitator and to manage the recording apparatus, but not always as a participant. At times, it was indeed necessary for the researcher to participate in a few of the conversations, but most of the speaking was done by the recruited participants.

This type of sociolinguistic data is known as empirical qualitative data (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 2). The researcher has taken a descriptive rather than a prescriptive standpoint and describes what is taking place in South African ELF at the moment. It is important to note that, because of the small number as well as the type of participants (i.e. students) and the small number of hours of data that were recorded, the findings may not be representative of

² A full description of the participants' language profiles is provided in Section 4.4.2 of this thesis.

what is taking place in ELF in South Africa and may not be generalized to the entire South African ELF population. However, this study takes a portion of the South African ELF student population in the Western Cape, analyses what is happening in their ELF usage and provides a starting point from which more research may take place.

1.4.2 The framework

The data collection methodology in this study is based somewhat on that in House (2002) (see Section 2.6.1 of this thesis for a description of this study). House presented her participants with an article to read before and discuss during the recording. Similarly, in order to attempt to preserve the uniformity of the topics and to elicit conversation, the participants in this study were also given a controversial article to read beforehand and were asked to discuss it during the recording. If the conversation faltered, further points of discussion were suggested by the researcher. This data collection, however, differed from that in House (2002) in that the participants in this study were not interviewed a short time after each recording took place. The recordings for this study were simply transcribed and the various ELF features identified and analysed. In addition, House only recorded and analysed one ELF interaction whereas this study includes seven different ELF conversations.

In order to identify and analyse the ELF phenomena that arose, reference was made to the various features and methods of analysis of ELF suggested by the European literature. Interpretations and explanations of the ELF phenomena in the data of this thesis were then provided by comparing those features which are similar to those found in the literature. In addition, those features which were found to be different from the ELF features suggested in the literature may, as a result, only apply to ELF as it is used in South Africa.

To illustrate the contrast between ELF and E-L2, and to articulate the different research interests these terms represent, a brief review is given of linguistic and discursive features mentioned in a number of studies on Black South African English, Cape Flats English and Afrikaans English. The data I collected have been scrutinised for any of the previously identified features of South African varieties of English which may co-occur with the ELF features.

1.5 Definitions of key terms

1.5.1 First-, second- and foreign languages and their speakers

A “first language” (also called “mother tongue” or “native language”) is the language that one acquires as a child in a natural setting (O’Grady et al. 1996: 1). Crystal (2008: 321) states that this is the language of which a speaker will have the most reliable intuitions. A speaker of an L1 is often referred to as a “native speaker.” For consistency, I will use the term “first language” (L1) in this thesis with the above-mentioned meaning.

Crystal (2008: 266) defines a “second language” (L2) as the language other than one’s L1 which is learnt and used in a bilingual or multilingual context, for a special purpose (e.g. for education, in government, for trading, etc). For example, an E-L1 speaker in South Africa would more than likely learn Afrikaans as an L2 at school, starting from Grade 3 until he/she finishes high school.

A “foreign language”, on the other hand, is a non-L1 language which has no official status in a country (Crystal 2010: 443). An example would be French in South Africa.

1.5.2 Lingua franca

A “lingua franca” is a language that is used as a medium of communication between speakers who do not share an L1. For example, a Spanish L1 speaker and Kiswahili L1 speaker may use English as lingua franca when communicating with each other, provided of course that they both have at least rudimentary knowledge of English. If speaker A is a monolingual, thus also an L1, speaker of (e.g.) French, and speaker B is a bilingual speaker of Russian and French, the conversation between A and B will be in French. Thus it is possible in a conversation where a lingua franca is required, that the particular lingua franca may be the L1 of one of the participants.

“English as a lingua franca” (ELF), the topic of this study, refers to English when it is used as a medium of communication between speakers who do not share an L1. Obviously, it is a prerequisite that the interlocutors have a basic knowledge of English. House (2010: 363) refers to ELF as “a useful default means of communication used [...] by its now expert

non-native users.” This is precisely what is happening with ELF in the South African context. The majority of South African citizens do not speak E-L1; English, for many, is an L2 or even a third language (L3). Nevertheless, the number of expert speakers of this language is steadily increasing. An example of communication through the medium of a lingua franca in South Africa would be the use of English in an interaction between an isiXhosa L1 speaker and a Tshivenda L1 speaker.

Meierkord (2000) makes an important distinction between ELF used *internationally* (i.e. between two non-L1 English speakers who come from different countries, as between the Spanish L1 and the Kiswahili L1 speakers mentioned above) or *intranationally* (i.e. between two non-L1 English speakers of the same nationality in the same country, who speak different languages within that country, as between the isiXhosa L1 speaker and the Tshivenda L1 speaker mentioned above).

1.5.3 Varieties and dialects

Crystal defines a “variety” as “a system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables” (2008: 509). He states that the distinctiveness of a language may be a result of region or occupation (such as South African English or English used in religious ceremonies, respectively), or of other interconnected variables which make the variety difficult to define (Crystal gives the examples of age and biological sex in this regard).

A “dialect” is a variety (or varieties) of a specific language that differs from related forms in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (Southerland and Katamba in O’Grady et al. 1996: 565). Southerland and Katamba exemplify this by referring to most of the counties and even some cities in Britain which each have their own characteristic dialects (e.g. Lancashire and Yorkshire dialects, Cockney in London and Geordie in Newcastle).

1.5.4 Code-switching and code-mixing

The terms “code-switching” and “code-mixing” are sometimes used interchangeably but, for the purpose of this thesis, a distinction between the two will be maintained. Gardner-Chloros (2009: 202) defines code-switching as “the alternate use of two or more languages or language varieties by bilinguals for communicative purposes”, as when a bilingual

speaker uses Afrikaans at home and English at work, or Afrikaans when speaking to her parents and English when speaking to her children. Code-mixing can occur within a single conversation and within the turns of a single speaker. Wardhaugh (2006: 101) distinguishes between code-mixing that occurs between sentences (*intersententially*) and within a single sentence (*intrasententially*) in a single speaker's turn.

1.5.5 New Englishes

Crystal (2008: 327) defines the term “New Englishes” as varieties of English that are developing and have developed around the world in countries and communities where it is not an indigenous language, but where it has attained official status and is rapidly developing as an L1 to large sections of these communities. He finds that this term is actually only applicable when the variety in question displays substantial and unique linguistic development away from the norms of the “standard” dialects of English. In addition, the variety also displays a certain amount of local standardisation. Indian English, Ghanaian English and Singaporean English as they are used in local media, are examples of such New Englishes.

1.6 Overview of thesis chapters

This chapter will be followed by the literature review in Chapter 2 which includes, amongst other things, an exposition of the distribution of English on a global scale and within South Africa. Then, an extensive and state-of-the-art review will be presented of the European literature on ELF. Works by House, Seidlhofer and Meierkord, whose studies are mentioned in Section 1.2 above, are primary sources to which this thesis will refer. Their views and findings of ELF will be presented and used as a framework for analysing the data collected in this study.

Chapter 3 will provide a brief overview of the appropriate literature dealing with typical features of English as an L2 variety in South Africa. Mollin's (2006b) distinction between English as an L2 variety and English as a learner language will be introduced here for its relevance in distinguishing between E-L1, E-L2 and ELF.

Chapter 4 gives the research design of this study, the kind of data that will be dealt with, the methodology used to collect the necessary data and the method of analysis. The data and findings on features of South African ELF and E-L2 varieties in South Africa will then be presented and analysed. Chapter 5 will summarise the findings, draw conclusions and propose suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN EUROPE

2.1 Introduction

The study of ELF is a relatively new field of linguistic research which has gained momentum in the last two decades. This increased interest can be explained at least in part by the fact that non-L1 speakers of English now outnumber E-L1 speakers (House 2002: 246) and that, world-wide, English has become the most used lingua franca and the most studied as an L2. Studies of various linguistic and communicative aspects of ELF have taken place mostly in the European context where English is increasingly taught as an L2 and widely used as a lingua franca between L1 speakers of different world languages. In South Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, limited research attention has been afforded to ELF even though large parts of the continent have a long history of using English, which is widely developed as an L2 and as lingua franca.

With 11 official languages and many foreign languages spoken in South Africa, and due to its history as a British colony, English has become commonly used as a medium of communication between people who do not share an L1. The patterns of multilingualism in South Africa are significantly different to those established in Europe, therefore research on the use of ELF in South Africa may make an interesting contribution to this field. This chapter will give a brief overview of English as a global language (Section 2.2), and it will give an impression of the development of English in South Africa (Section 2.3). Then, an extensive overview will follow of the most influential research into ELF from a European perspective (Section 2.6). Specifically, seminal works from House, Seidlhofer and Meierkord, amongst others, will be presented. Not all of work reviewed here is directly applicable to the data-set used in this particular study. However, in the interest of providing a complete and up-to-date literature review on ELF, brief summaries of the most important works will be included. Where particularly pertinent, some of the works by various ELF researchers will be indicated. From this research, it is evident that ELF theory changes the

terms in which we are to construct expectations of the structure and use of English, regardless of the norms and standards of English where it is widely used as an L1, as in the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA), Canada or Australia.

2.2 The global distribution of English

Crystal (2010: 370) reports that there are around 400 million L1 speakers, 600 million L2 speakers and 600 million fluent foreign-language speakers of English in the world. He points out that it is the main language of “books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music and advertising” as well as being the most widely-used language on the internet (Crystal 2010: 370).

Svartvik and Leech (2006) suggest that several factors conspired to afford English the powerful status it has globally. They refer diachronically to the expansion and influence of British colonial power in many parts of the world, indicating that by the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Empire ruled over almost a quarter of the world’s population so that the British influence was felt almost everywhere (Svartvik and Leech 2006:6). They also refer synchronically to the current position of the USA as the leading economic, military and scientific power of the last century. In addition, modern technology has provided an increasing need for international communication with as little language impediment as possible. For example, air-traffic controllers direct pilots in English no matter where in the world the airport is situated. Svartvik and Leech (2006: 7) refer to the use of ELF as a means of remaining on linguistically-neutral ground in countries where people have several different L1s and intergroup tensions are potentially divisive. For example, India has accepted English as an official language and as the “working language” of their parliament to avoid the sensitivities that may arise in choices between Hindi and Urdu in public spaces.

Importantly, Svartvik and Leech point out that English became the language of the world not due to the “superiority” of its linguistic features, but because of the political, economic and military success England had at a very critical time in history. Here, Svartvik and

Leech echo Crystal (2003: 10) in suggesting that English is a global language because it was “in the right place at the right time”.

2.3 The distribution of English in South Africa

The British arrived in South Africa in 1795, taking temporary control of the Cape from the Dutch. They seized control of what is currently the Cape Peninsula in 1806, but did not actively encourage settlement before 1820, when approximately 5000 British people were allocated land in the Eastern Cape (Saunders and Southey 1998: 68). English then functioned as the language of government in the expanding colony, where the white majority of farmers who had settled in the country during the eighteenth century were L1 speakers of Dutch. By the 1870s, following the gold and diamond rush in the Kimberley and Witwatersrand areas, almost 500 000 hopeful European immigrants arrived to stake their claim, most of them bringing various regional English accents along (Saunders and Southey 1998: 69). British settlers eventually colonised several parts of South Africa, with majorities in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces, in Natal and in Johannesburg. Crystal (2003: 43) reports that the British in the Cape spoke the London dialect of English, while the settlers in Natal spoke the Northern and Midlands dialects. In time, English developed as an L2 among the Afrikaans population as well as among speakers of indigenous African languages. It was also the L2 of mixed-race communities and of Indians who had immigrated to South Africa in 1860 (Crystal 2003: 45).

With the unification of four separately-governed parts of the country in 1910, the decision on official languages was in favour of English and Dutch. In 1925, Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans. Thus the country had a language policy of two European languages for a period of 92 years. In 1993, the South African Constitution decided on 11 languages as official, including English and Afrikaans. The motivation was to acknowledge the multilingual character of the nation and to develop and improve the status and use of indigenous languages. Crystal believes that, although these languages will eventually get the recognition that they deserve, English will still function as an important lingua franca between speakers who do not share an L1 (Crystal 2003: 46).

Today, English is viewed by many in South Africa as the language of success. Large numbers of parents prefer their children to be educated in English rather than in their L1s. It is believed that in order to be successful in life, being able to speak English is essential. As a result, many South African varieties of English are developing (i.e. Cape Flats English, Black South African English, Afrikaans English, etc.).

The percentage of E-L1 speakers in South Africa amounts to 8.2%. According to the 2001 census (Statistics South Africa 2003) isiZulu, in fact, is the language with the most L1 speakers in the country (23.8%) (2003:16). Thus, no single language community in South Africa has an outright majority in terms of numbers of speakers. Considering the 11 different languages from five different language families with limited mutual intelligibility, the need for a widely used lingua franca is clear.

2.4 Kachru's Concentric Circle Model of English as a global language

Kachru (1985: 12) describes the distribution and use of English in the world by means of a model made up of three concentric circles (see figure 1 below). The Inner Circle represents the countries in which most members speak E-L1. These countries constitute the smallest number in the world with regard to the number of E-L1 speakers. Kachru states that Inner Circle countries tended to provide English norms for the Outer and Expanding Circle countries because the former have well-established and accepted varieties of English (e.g. American English, British English, etc.) which is the L1 to a majority of the population. Examples of Inner Circle countries are the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia.

The Outer Circle represents the countries in which English is widely used as an L2. Although most speakers of English, in this case, are L2 or foreign-language speakers, English is often recognised as one of the official languages of these countries. Thus Svartvik and Leech (2006: 4) find that it is used in administration, education and the media. Outer Circle countries constitute a larger number in the world, in comparison to the number of Inner Circle countries, with regard to their respective numbers of L2 speakers of English. Kachru (1985: 17) indicates that Outer Circle countries are in the process of developing their own varieties (which he calls “New Englishes”), which sometimes make use of the Inner Circle’s English language norms but are creating their own norms as well.

Examples of Outer Circle countries are former colonies such as Kenya, Tanzania, India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Singapore. Typical examples of New Englishes in these countries, of which the characterising features have been given much scholarly attention, are Indian English and Singaporean English.

The Expanding Circle represents those countries in which English is learned as a foreign language because it is needed for specific purposes in international communication as in business, education, politics, etc. Expanding Circle countries represent the largest number of English users, even though the majority of these are L2 speakers. Kachru (1985: 17) states that Expanding Circle countries are dependent on the English norms provided by the Inner Circle countries. Examples of Expanding Circle countries are China and Japan.

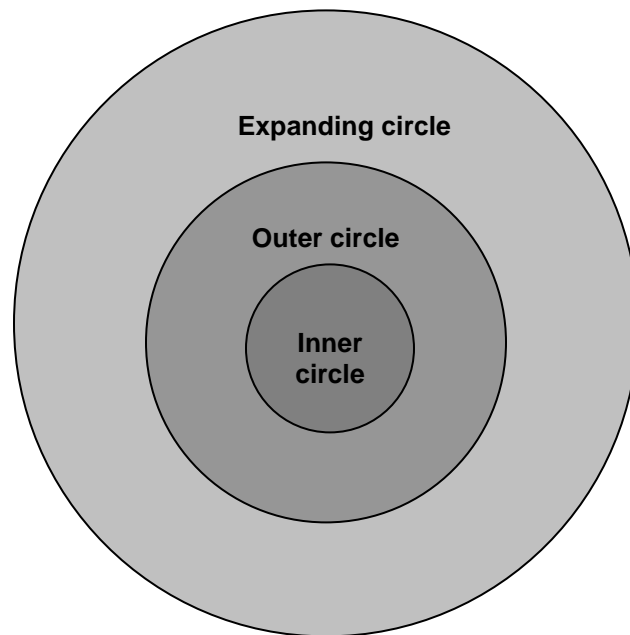


Figure 1. Kachru's model of English as a global language in the form of three concentric circles

ELF usage may occur within or across any one of these circles. The fact that the large majority of citizens in Inner Circle countries like the UK are E-L1 speakers obviously does not mean that there are no E-L2 or even E-L3 speakers within these countries. Therefore, if E-L1 speakers and E-L2 or E-L3 speakers want or need to communicate with each other, their interactions will be characterised as ELF.

Svartvik and Leech (2006: 3) consider South Africa to be on the cusp of being an Inner and an Outer Circle country. They believe that South Africa has an Inner Circle quality in that four million of its approximately 40 million inhabitants speak E-L1. The authors equate this number of E-L1 speakers in South Africa with total populations of countries like New Zealand and Ireland, where the total population is approximately four million each and where a majority of their nationals speak E-L1.

English, however, is not the L1 of the majority of South Africa's inhabitants, therefore, it is not in accordance with Kachru's definition of an Inner Circle country. IsiZulu, in fact, has the largest number of L1 speakers in South Africa (see Section 2.3). Svartvik and Leech believe that South Africa has an Outer Circle quality in that English is the main language used in Parliament, is the medium of instruction in higher education and is most used in public spaces. The distribution of different varieties of English in South Africa gives an impression of the theoretical difficulties that Kachru's model has run into: the boundaries between the various circles are not as clear as he would suggest.

2.5 ELF as a new field of academic interest

Mollin researched whether or not ELF should be considered a new variety in Kachru's Expanding Circle. She defines a variety as a "bundle of idiolects that share certain features (which) may be determined regionally (also called 'dialects') or socially ('sociolects')" (Mollin 2006b: 43). Mollin criticizes Kachru's Concentric Circle Model in that it does not make provision for ELF which, she believes, has developed across all three of Kachru's Circles, but especially within the Expanding Circle. ELF may have a global function in enabling wider communication among speakers of unintelligible L1s although, grammatically and pragmatically, it exhibits different features in different language contexts.

Mollin analysed the data collected for an ongoing research project on Euro-English. This research project aims to determine whether European lingua franca communication has resulted in a new, independent variety of English in Europe, called "Euro-English". In her project, a corpus of 400 000 words was created of ELF when used between citizens of the European Union with different L1s. The corpus consists of a spoken and a written

component, therefore reflecting English as it is used on a daily basis by speakers from various European countries. In the data, Mollin looked for common lexicogrammatical and morphosyntactic features from speakers with different L1s in order to determine whether these features would distinguish the use of ELF from an E-L1 standard. Mollin then checked the instances of Standard English usage against the British National Corpus.

In her analysis, it was found that speakers tended to adhere to standard E-L1 usage and made idiosyncratic mistakes. These mistakes, however, depended on the L1 of the speaker and his/her competence in English. Common features which may have united ELF speakers were rare. There was a surprisingly low number of deviations from the E-L1 standard. Examples from Mollin's data analysis illustrate this. She refers to Seidlhofer's prediction that the inflectional morpheme *-s* that marks the third-person-singular present tense in English verbs, would be the first feature to disappear in the language of ELF speakers. Mollin's data, however, proved Seidlhofer's prediction to be wrong: it was found that this type of omission occurred only in 0.58% of the instances in which these verb forms were used. Similarly, Seidlhofer's prediction that ELF speakers would frequently use the relative pronouns *who* and *which* interchangeably, did not hold. The rule in Standard English is that *who* is used in reference to animate objects and *which* is used in reference to inanimate objects. Mollin's data indicated that only 1.83% of the instances of *who* and 0.91% of the instances of *which* deviated from the L1-speaker norms.

Mollin eventually posits that ELF should be regarded as a register, which is a "language used for a specific function rather than by a specific group" (Mollin 2006b: 51). Thus, ELF is not a new variety alongside Indian English or Jamaican English. The author does not suggest that Kachru's concentric-circle model has to be revised in order to accommodate ELF. For the time being, she suggests ELF can be included in the Expanding Circle of the model as a specific function of English.

2.6 Recent research interest on English as a lingua franca

ELF became an academic field of interest to linguists in the early 1990s. This was because of the increasing use of English world wide as a language of wider communication. More and more people were realising the importance of being able to use English as "the

generally shared language of communication” (Smit 2003: 40), a consequence of which was a global increase in the number of people striving to learn the language. A number of linguists have researched and described various features and uses of ELF as well as discursive features that typically occur in ELF interactions. What follows is a description³ of some of the ELF research that has taken place in the past decade.

2.6.1 House's ELF research

2.6.1.1 Some communicative features in ELF

House (2002) analysed the communicative features of ELF as they were evident in authentic ELF interaction, namely in a semi-structured, face-to-face interaction between four participants of different nationalities (German, Korean, Chinese, Indonesian). A research group was asked to read an article and then discuss it during a meeting of approximately 30 minutes. The conversational interaction was recorded, transcribed, and analysed with special attention to communicative phenomena.

Two weeks after the discussion, the participants were called back to listen to the recording and to read the transcriptions. They were then asked to comment on their handling of the discussion and specifically to discuss the parts of the interaction where there had been miscommunications. They were encouraged to give a critical assessment of their own and their conversational partners' interactional behaviours.

In the analysis, it was found that there was an overwhelming presence of the “let it pass” phenomenon (House 2002: 251). This occurs when a speaker produces an utterance which causes difficulty in understanding for the hearer. The hearer, however, will not try to sort out the misunderstanding but rather let the utterance pass in the hope that, as the conversation progresses, the misunderstanding will become clear (Seidlhofer 2001: 143). House suggests that this phenomenon indicates the “mutual dis-attention” of ELF interlocutors to mismatches in their English proficiency, and shows that, besides indicating

³ Note that the literature reviews in chapters 2 and 3 are descriptive and do not include comparisons which identify specific areas of overlap or differences in approach or kinds of data.

to their conversational partners that they are listening, they do not necessarily make the effort to indicate their understanding as well.

House reports that some of the interlocutors were focused on their own communicative agendas throughout the conversation. The Asian participants seemed to have their own monologues and, as a result, unintentionally excluded the German participant from the conversation, even though she tried to enter into it. Such linguistic behaviour was found to show “a lack of demonstrated responsibility for the ongoing talk as a collective achievement” (House 2002: 251). In accordance with this finding, House notes that the interlocutors did not think it essential to adjust their utterances to fit their conversational partners’ needs and expectations (i.e. there was limited evidence of ‘accommodation’). She refers to the interlocutors’ personal ways of managing turn-taking which indicates their lack of communicative behaviour adjustment to fit the needs and expectations of their conversational counterparts. Participants often just began to talk rather than waiting for the appropriate moment in which to begin their turn in the conversation and then present their argument. Once they were properly established in the conversation, each would make full use of his/her turn to pursue his/her own communicative agenda. House provides the example in (1) where one of the participants, Mauri, directs a question at another participant, Joy, which she does not answer.

(1) Mauri: But you don’t agree then that all the people of the world that they
should speak English?

Joy: I would like to know erm what is English so important for the people in
the globe.⁴

The author found that the participants hardly make any use of discourse markers or discourse particles typically used to facilitate oral communication. However, she found that her participants often used, what she calls, “represents”, i.e. they would repeat a large part or all of the utterance produced by the previous speaker. The reasons for this are apparently

⁴ Examples quoted from transcriptions in the VOICE literature conform to the VOICE transcription conventions (see http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf). My own examples taken from the data of this study do not conform to one specific set of transcription conventions. See the transcription key on page (xii) for a guide to the transcription symbols.

to facilitate understanding and production, to provide textual coherence, to make it clear to the participant that the present speaker is hearing and understanding what is being said, to request confirmation and to make it clear that the present speaker has no intention of stealing the other participant's turn (House 2002: 253). Similar examples were found in the data collected for this study, as will be illustrated in Section 4.3.3.1.

House found that ELF interlocutors often used conjunctions at the beginning of their utterances. Conjunctions such as *and* and *but* were used utterance-initially to supply a connection between the various participants' utterances. She suggests that the interlocutors use these conjunctions "in an attempt to make up for their failure to use more interpersonal devices for lubricating turn changes such as *hmmm*, *yes*, *well*, *I see*, and so on" (House 2002: 254).

House also found that her participants often attempted to change the topic of conversation by producing completely irrelevant utterances. These sudden topic changes involved no "discourse-lubricating gambits or preparatory supportive moves" (House 2002: 255). What follows in (2) is an example of a sudden topic change in House's data, as demonstrated by Wei's utterance.

(2) Joy: I think England had influenced erm the most part of the world (2 sec)
there is one reason of why English should be erm [should be erm]

Brit: [but it also is] France France had colonies that's not it why isn't French
then today (2 sec) or Spanish.

Mauri: Spanish yeah South America speak almost @ Spanish.

Brit: @ And they very often refuse to speak English.

Mauri: Yes.

Wei: *I have been to Canada erm two weeks ago.*

Joy: Oh yeah.

Another of House's findings was that the Asian participants seemed to show a significant bond (possibly because they all come from the Far East). This is reflected in their speech

when, in House's example in (3), Brit provides suggestions to help Joy find the right words to complete her utterance.

(3) Joy: I recently read an article in a Korean erm (2 sec) moment (3 sec).

Brit: *Newspaper, Internet?*

Joy: Yes thank you @ erm the article is about new foreign language education in Japan.

House concluded that even though ELF speakers' English language competence leaves much to be desired, their strategic competence (which enables them to take part in negotiations) must be seen as "fully intact" (House 2002: 259). Furthermore, House believes that ELF speakers should not be seen as inept speakers who, as soon as they diverge from the E-L1 speaker norms, are regarded as deficient in their English linguistic abilities.

2.6.1.2 *You know* in ELF

In another study, House (2009) investigated the use of the phrase *you know*. This time, 13 semi-structured ELF conversations were analysed. The participants were students from the University of Hamburg ranging in age from 20 to 35 years with various language backgrounds and levels of competence in English. These ELF conversations were then transcribed and analysed for any communicative phenomena related to the phrase *you know*. Finally, some of the participants were interviewed again a while after the recordings had been made. They listened to the recordings and were asked to comment on their uses of *you know* to assist with the interpretation of results.

This analysis revealed that approximately 80 percent of *you know* instances occurred in the middle of utterances and that speakers do indeed make use of *you know* in various individual ways. She found that if an ELF speaker knows the phrase, he/she will use it consistently; if he/she does not know it and therefore does not use it, the speaker will be consistent in his/her non-usage.

House's data revealed that *you know* co-occurs with the conjunctions *but*, *because* and *and*. In these instances, *you know* serves "as a highlighting, focusing device, making more

explicit the adversative, causal and additive relations set up by the conjunctions *but*, *because* and *and* respectively” (House 2009: 181). She interprets this use of *you know* as evidently speaker-orientated because the speaker is only concerned with accenting the adversative, causal and additive relations within his/her own speech and not that of the hearer.

It was found that ELF speakers often make use of *you know* as a speaker strategy when they “want to make salient coherence relations and focus on, or boost connections as a prefab, an idiomatic chunk or conventionalized routine” (House 2009: 190). House also believes that *you know* is not a non-functioning, futile filler used by ELF speakers to allow themselves more time to find the correct words and formulate their utterances properly to contribute meaningfully to a conversation. House says that, when used as a formulaic expression, *you know* is fully functional and is mainly used for the benefit of the speaker. An analysis and discussion of the presence of this discourse marker in the data for this thesis is given in Section 4.4.3.2.

2.6.2 Seidlhofer’s call for a reconceptualisation of ‘ELF’

Seidlhofer (2004) suggested that ELF rather than E-L1 curricula should be devised and implemented in foreign-language teaching of English in Expanding Circle countries. She notes, however, that certain conditions have to be met before ELF can be taught to these learners, the most important of which is the development of a description of ELF’s most prominent features (in conjunction with those of E-L1). This, she believes, will result in the acknowledgement of ELF as a natural language⁵ in its own right and will lead to the recognition of its various speakers as legitimate language users, who have developed and follow norms and standards of English different to those of E-L1 speakers.

By 2004, some research on ELF had been undertaken by various scholars, yet only narrow accounts of a few of the most prominent features of ELF had been described. Noting this gap in the research on ELF, Seidlhofer and some of her colleagues at the University of

⁵ Naturally, there are some differences in the theoretical positions of various European ELF scholars. In this instance, Seidlhofer regards ELF as a single variety of English whereas others define ELF as an umbrella term for the many ways in which English is spoken by non-L1 speakers on a global scale.

Vienna started the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) project. This project aims to compile an extensive corpus of primarily spoken English as it is used as a global lingua franca, irrespective of the L1s and levels of English proficiency of its speakers. The recordings of ELF interactions that have been entered thus far are unscripted (i.e. there is no associated written text) and were mainly face-to-face, taking place between speakers of various L1s who were not brought up or educated in English. Seidlhofer hopes that the corpus will aid in continuing the description of the most salient features of ELF with the end product being a more extensive and complete account of its features.

A number of theses and projects using data from the VOICE corpus have been undertaken and completed (see Breiteneder 2005, Klimpfinger 2007, Pitzl 2005, etc). These investigations have indicated a number of uniformities in the use of ELF. For example, Seidlhofer notes that the use of certain features in ELF (which would be regarded as “errors” in Standard English) generally do not seem to be problematic and do not hinder communicative success. She provides the following common ELF features with some examples:

- Omission of the third-person singular present tense morpheme *-s*;
- Interchangeable use of the relative pronouns *who* and *which*;
- Leaving out definite and indefinite articles in places where they are compulsory in E-L1, and using them in places which, according to Standard English, would be considered ungrammatical (e.g. *Are we going to Ø shops now?*; *She is putting on a mascara*)⁶;
- Incorrect use of tags in questions (e.g. *isn't it?* or *no?* as opposed to *shouldn't they?*);
- Usage of redundant prepositions (e.g. *We have to study about*);
- Frequent use of certain semantically-versatile, broad-spectrum verbs (e.g. *do, have, make, put, take*);
- Using *that*-clauses instead of infinitive constructions (e.g. *I want that*), and
- Overdoing explicitness (e.g. *black colour* rather than *black*).

Seidlhofer accounts for cases of misunderstanding in ELF interactions by attributing these to a limited vocabulary as well as a deficiency in paraphrasing skills on the part of the ELF

⁶ The researcher's own examples.

speaker. She notes that problems also arise in instances in which one speaker uses idiomatic speech (most likely an E-L1 speaker), resulting in the hearer's problems in understanding (most likely an ELF speaker). This is because the hearer is not familiar with certain idiomatic expressions. The author provides the examples of metaphorical language use, idioms, phrasal verbs, and fixed E-L1 expressions such as *This drink is on the house* or *Can we give you a hand?* as features which may result in misunderstandings.

Cogo and Dewey (2006: 75-76) suggest two more findings from their own study in addition to those of Seidlhofer (2004). Their data analysis reveals that there is a “preference for bare and/or full infinitives over the use of gerunds, as in *interested to do* rather than *interested in doing*, or as in *to study is...* and *to read is...* where the infinitive is used as the subject of a clause” and “exploited redundancy, such as ellipsis of objects/complements of transitive verbs, as in *I wanted to go with*, *You can borrow*, etc.”

A recurrent exhortation in almost all of Seidlhofer's articles on ELF (see Seidlhofer 2000, 2001b, 2002, 2005, 2006, etc.) describes an overwhelming need for more descriptive research on the features of ELF. The author states that more qualitative studies of the various linguistic features of ELF need to take place, the data of which can be added to the various existing corpora on ELF. Once a proper codification and reconceptualisation of ELF has taken place, which shows where there is deviation from the norms of E-L1 speakers, the author suggests that it may be possible to change the stigma and negative attitudes widely held towards ELF. Ultimately, this may lead to ELF being considered a natural language in its own right and a move towards developing new curricula and learning materials for English language learners in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries may be feasible.

2.6.3 Meierkord's ELF research

2.6.3.1 Features of ELF in small-talk conversations

Meierkord (2000) analysed the most notable features of ELF she could identify in small-talk conversations. The interactions that she studied were naturally-occurring and face-to-face. Participants of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 30 were recorded in a hostel for

international students in the UK. The participants spoke 17 different L1s and had various levels of competence in English. A total of 23 different interactions were recorded and transcribed, which allowed for the analysis of the linguistic features in which the study was interested.

The author (2000) states that there are at least three cultures in lingua franca conversations. Participants in ELF conversations “are representatives of their individual (L1) cultures.” Meierkord states that there are no cultural and communicative norms and standards in lingua franca conversations. She refers to Koole and ten Thije (1994) who state that when the ELF participants communicate, their shared knowledge and usage of ELF seem to force them to create their own unique set of rules for interaction, thus forming a separate lingua franca culture or “interculture” (Meierkord 2000).

Meierkord finds that the informal register of ELF is different to that of the E-L1 varieties when it comes to discourse structure and politeness phenomena. With regard to ELF discourse structure, she found that ELF speakers do not make use of illocutions like extractors⁷ to link opening and closing phases⁸ to the core phase of the conversations. Instead, ELF speakers often made use of pauses between conversational phases to indicate the change from one phase to another (Meierkord 2000).

The participants in these recordings preferred to discuss safe topics (e.g. university life, being a student, etc). Each topic was kept very short in that most of them lasted about 10 turns before the participants moved on to the next topic, thus leaving no time for in-depth discussions.

⁷ Extractors are words or phrases which guide the interlocutor into the closing phase of a conversation and allow him/her to extract him-/herself from the conversation in which he/she is involved (Meierkord available at http://webdoc.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/artic98/meierk/7_98.html#funo01). Meierkord provides the example *Well, I must be off*.

⁸ Meierkord explains that a typical conversational discourse consists of an opening phase, a core phase and a closing phase, in that order. The opening phase is when “speakers come together and establish the conversation circle.” The core phase is when speakers “talk about at least one topic” and the closing phase is when the final topic of discussion “has been finished or abandoned, the talk is brought to an end and the speakers prepare to separate again” (Meierkord available at http://webdoc.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/artic98/meierk/7_98.html#funo01).

There were occurrences of overlapping speech, however these varied from person to person. Some of the participants made frequent use of overlapping speech, whilst others refrained from it. According to Meierkord, the participants whose speech exhibited considerable overlap are very competent in English.

Politeness phenomena such as formulaic expressions during opening and closing phases, and back-channels⁹, were a frequent feature in the data. Meierkord found that the participants did not differ significantly with regard to their choices of formulaic expressions and that ELF speakers tended to stick to simple phrases like *Hello, Good morning, How are you?, Bye* (Meierkord 2000).

Meierkord found that the back-channelling of ELF speakers is similar to that of British English L1 speakers. She found that the number of supportive back-channels (e.g. *mhm, right, yeah, uh huh*) used by ELF speakers did not differ from the number used by British English L1 speakers (see Section 4.3.3.1 for a discussion of back-channels in the data for this study). However, it was found that supportive laughter was a frequent replacement for these verbal back-channels. In addition, the ELF speakers often used “cajolers” (Meierkord 2000) (e.g. *you know, I mean, you see*). This was interpreted as an expression of the speakers’ desire to cooperate and involve his/her interlocutors.

Meierkord (2000) concludes that the linguistic behaviour of ELF speakers in conversation is governed by two factors, namely participants’ concern about face-saving, and indicating “benevolent attitudes” to their conversational partners.

2.6.3.2 Syntactic variations in ELF

In addition to her study in Section 2.6.3.1, Meierkord (2004) also analysed the syntactic variations in ELF. A corpus was created of 22 hours of recorded, naturally-occurring conversations in which 49 speakers from different countries (within Kachru’s (1985) Outer

⁹ Crystal (2008: 48) defines “back-channeling” as the feedback a hearer provides for a speaker in a conversation. Back-channels can take the forms of “monosyllabic responses (*mhm*), short phrases (*I guess so*), utterance repetitions and sentence completions as well as non-verbal cues (e.g. nodding, gaze variation).”

and Expanding circles) with varying levels of ELF competency were recorded. The conversations were then analysed for syntactically marked and regular¹⁰ utterances produced by the ELF speakers from Kachru's Outer and Expanding circle countries.

The author found that the syntactic features in the ELF interactions varied depending on the speaker's linguistic background. Speakers from the Outer Circle countries exhibited systematic features of E-L2 varieties as has already been recognized in the literature on these varieties. In contrast, speakers from the Expanding Circle countries exhibited a larger amount of less established features. The author posits that syntactic differences produced by the less competent ELF speakers may either be attributed to L1 transfer or that they are a result of developmental interlanguage patterns.

Meierkord (2004: 120) quotes McArthur (2002) when explaining that she found that the Pakistani (i.e. Outer Circle) participants in her data produced utterances which "include a lack of subject-auxiliary inversion in interrogatives, [different] usage[s] of the definite article, an extended usage of the progressive aspect to stative verbs, a preference for the present perfect over the simple past, and the use of the present continuous for past actions." She provides the respective examples in (4) to (8) where the researcher has included the symbol Ø to indicate a missing lexical element. (Meierkord 2004: 121). Meierkord did not find any differences from the E-L1 varieties with regard to verb complementation or use of the present perfect tense rather than the perfective aspect to describe a past activity.

- (4) And if it is just Ø normal person, eh then you will say "tūm".
- (5) I mean, somebody told me, Ø Nigerian degree is not accepted.
- (6) We went to Ø supermarket.
- (7) The person who *was owning* the shop.
- (8) Why *I shouldn't* call him a doctor?

¹⁰ Meierkord (2004: 118) uses the terms "marked" and "regular" to refer to "utterances which belong to a nativised or L2 variety through a particular syntactic form", and "utterances which conform to the grammatical norms of one of the (E-L1) varieties", respectively.

Meierkord also found that the African (i.e. Outer Circle) participants in her data do not exhibit a specific pattern of article use, as has been reported in previous literature on African E-L2 varieties (cf. Schmied 1991, McArthur 2002). However, they do display a lack of subject-auxiliary inversion in WH-interrogatives, as well as different uses of prepositions. She provides the respective examples in (9), (10) and (11), where the E-L1 use is indicated in brackets.

(9) When *you will* (will you) start practicing?

(10) The strongest man *from* (in) the Middle East.

(11) You learn so much *of* (about) medicine.

Meierkord notes that there are two notable syntactic processes which feature in her ELF conversations, namely simplification (by shortening one's utterances) and regularisation (by fronting certain lexical elements in an utterance). Meierkord found that simplified utterances were used by the more competent ELF speakers in her data to accommodate those who were less competent in ELF. These simplified utterances were divided into shorter clausal or phrasal units to form the "basic informational units of the interactions" (Meierkord 2004: 126), the purpose of which was to make the conversation easier to process for the less competent ELF speaker and to allow the less competent ELF speaker to signal his/her (non-)understanding.

Meierkord reports that regularisation is also a common syntactic feature in her data and is used by both very competent and less competent ELF speakers. This becomes apparent in the ELF speakers' uses of topicalisation, which is defined as "the movement of focussed information to the front of the utterance" (Meierkord 2004: 126). Meierkord reports that a variety of lexical items were fronted, the most common of which were noun phrases (NPs). She provides the example in (12) where the NP *three years* has been fronted.

(12) *Three years* you have to do.

Meierkord attributes the appearance of topicalisation in her data to two different reasons. She believes that it is an indication of the different language varieties which the ELF speakers bring to the conversation. In addition, it shows the speakers' attempts to make

discourse processing easier for their respective interlocutors by simplifying the syntactic structure of their ELF utterances.

2.6.4 Mauranen's study of misunderstandings in ELF

Mauranen (2006) studied the ways in which speakers signal and prevent misunderstanding in ELF. She selected and analysed data from the English as Lingua Franca in Academic settings (ELFA) corpus. This corpus is situated in the English Department of the University of Tampere in Helsinki and was started with the aim of investigating all aspects of ELF in academic settings. Mauranen used data from an early phase of the corpus in which four different seminars and one conference discussion were recorded and transcribed. In the seminar recordings, senior undergraduate students of both sexes, different ages and with various language backgrounds were recorded, with a senior member of the faculty present during each seminar. For the conference recording, less information of the speakers was available. However, 29 speakers of both sexes, with various language backgrounds, and ranging in age from 17 to 51, were recorded.

Mauranen found that the participants made use of three different ways to signal misunderstanding. The first was to ask the speaker direct and specific questions in order to understand the meaning of (part of) an utterance. This is an obvious indication of misunderstanding to the speaker, and it requires the speaker to repair it to enable the discourse to continue (see (97), (98) and (99) in Section 4.3.1.1).

The second way of signalling misunderstanding, according to Mauranen, is repetition of the problematic item by the hearer. This is a less obvious, less bold, more indirect indication of misunderstanding to the speaker because the hearer does not explicitly ask for help (see (101) in Section 4.3.1.2). Mauranen warns of a possible risk with this strategy: “sometimes simple repetition leaves too much space for alternative interpretations, and what gets offered as clarification may not match the need” (Mauranen 2006: 133).

The third way of signalling misunderstanding is even more indirect. Although some signalling is presented by the hearer, it is not specific and does not aid the speaker in

pinpointing where the hearer's confusion lies. A result of this is that the speaker may be unable to give the required clarification. Mauranen (2006: 135) provides the example in (13).

- (13) Speaker 1: maybe that's why
Speaker 2: [yeah]
Speaker 3: [maybe] there's barriers
S2: *what?*
S3: [they] are language barriers
S2: [yeah]
S1: yes
S2: yeah yeah okay

In this example, S2's signal of misunderstanding (i.e. *what?*) does not show what he/she is unclear about. Mauranen points out that S2 may not have heard the previous utterance or may not have been concentrating while the conversation was taking place, and is asking for a repetition in order to hear the utterance once more. S3 would not have known this and, as is evident in the example, interprets S2's *what?* as relating to the issues of clarity or relevance.

Mauranen notes that it is not always possible to determine the functions of, amongst other things, repetition. She states that the main aims when using these strategies could be to make meanings clearer, make interaction smoother, or to gain extra utterance-planning time. Interestingly, the "let it pass" principle identified by House (see Section 2.6.1 above) did not feature in her data. Mauranen reasons that it may not be a feature of academic discussions or that it does not occur in multi-party discussions.

Mauranen's next finding concerns the numerous occurrences of the prevention of misunderstanding. The speakers in her recordings often requested clarifications or confirmations, reformulated their utterances and provided additional explanations. Sudden additional checks, explanations or clarifications were the only strategies that occurred in this data set and there were no overt signals of misunderstanding.

The participants in Mauraanen's recordings made use of three strategies in order to prevent misunderstanding, the first being that of confirmation checks. The author notes that these checks can either be minimal or more explicit (see the respective examples in (102) and (103) in Section 4.3.1.3). Mauraanen (2006: 140) interprets the use of comprehension checks and their subsequent responses as indications from both the speaker and the hearer of their "willingness to cooperate toward comprehension and an awareness of its precariousness."

The second strategy used by speakers to prevent misunderstanding is one of interactive repairs (see (104) in Section 4.3.1.4). This happens when a speaker has difficulty finding the right word or phrase. The hearer recognizes the speaker's communicative problem and makes a verbal contribution in order to help him/her. Mauraanen finds that most repairs are driven by the objective to enable the continuation of the discourse.

The third strategy used by speakers to prevent misunderstanding is that of self-repair. This happens when a speaker detects a fault in the content or grammaticality of his/her utterance and repairs it. This reparation can happen immediately after (part of) an erroneous word has been uttered, in which case the speaker will interrupt him-/herself, repair the word or phrase, and carry on with his/her turn. The reparation can also happen at the end of the speaker's utterance, in which case the speaker will have thought about what he/she just said, detected the fault and corrected it (see examples (105) and (106) in section 4.3.1.5).

Mauraanen notes that in her data, almost every ELF speaker made considerable use of self-repairs. She quotes Kurhila (2003a) who found that E-L2/ELF speakers tend to self-repair the grammaticality of their utterances much more often than E-L1 speakers. E-L1 speakers also tend to focus more on the content and meaning of their utterances rather than the grammaticality. She adds that both interactive repair work and self-repair are highly cooperative ways of guaranteeing the flow of mutual intelligibility in ELF discourse.

2.6.5 Breiteneder's study of the third person –s in ELF

One of the rules in Standard English is that the regular main verb in a sentence must agree in person and number with the personal or demonstrative pronoun with which it is paired.

To indicate this agreement, the morpheme *-s* is added to the third-person singular form of the main, regular, present-tense verb. Seidlhofer (2001b: 149) states that this morpheme is often viewed as “the most typically English” feature.

Breiteneder (2005) analysed instances of the third-person *-s* that she came across in an ELF corpus. She analysed where these *-s* forms occurred and did not occur, and investigated to what extent these uses, whether or not they were “correct” by Standard English norms, formed part of the natural language use of ELF speakers. She analysed four separate, naturally-occurring ELF interactions in Copenhagen and Vienna between representatives of the European Union and national agencies of higher education.

The discussions comprised 47 different participants with 21 European languages and varieties as their L1s. Fourteen of these 47 participants made use of ELF. These participants were all fluent and competent in ELF because they had learnt English in formal educational settings over a number of years (therefore viewing Standard English as the norm). In addition, they use ELF because it is a communal language in this multilingual, professional setting. Breiteneder finds that these interactions were mainly transactional¹¹ in nature, due in part to the highly specialised topics that were discussed. These recordings were transcribed for analysis of the occurrences or non-occurrences of the third person *-s* of main verbs in ELF.

In her analysis, Breiteneder found that although use of the third person *-s* is erratic, no single speaker in her corpus was completely ignorant about the rule underlying third-person distinction. In their various turns, all 14 of the ELF speakers at times used the third-person *-s* but also had instances in which they omitted it, though in most cases it was used according to the Standard English rule. The author also found what she calls “‘superfluous’-*s* marking” in the ELF usage of 10 of the participants. This is when the third-person *-s* is added to verb forms that do not require it. By Standard English norms, such use would be ungrammatical. This kind of additional and unnecessary marking i.e.

¹¹ The author refers to Brown and Yule’s (1983) definition which states that the transactional function of communication is driven by the goal of getting the information across and therefore the speaker focuses on the content of his/her message rather than the grammar.

overgeneralisation or erratic omission of the third-person *-s*, is identified as a regular feature of ELF. Breiteneder (2005: 10) provides an example of overgeneralisation in (14).

(14) That was a committee that *mets* every couple of months.

Here the third-person *-s* morpheme is added to the past tense verb *met*. The addition of the third-person *-s* could also occur with verbs which have plural subjects, as in Breiteneder's (2005: 10) example in (15).

(15) Many of the *questions relates* to the operation of the system itself.

With regard to the erratic omission of the third-person *-s*, Breiteneder (2005: 9) provides the example in (16).

(16) I suppose it's possible that e:r *the thing function* in both er possibilities.

In this example, Standard English would require the third-person *-s* to be added to the verb *function* in order to be grammatical. The author specifically notes that overgeneralisation and erratic omission of the third-person *-s* does not affect mutual intelligibility between the participants (see Section 4.3.2 for a full analysis of third-person zero marking as it occurs in the data for this study).

Breiteneder suggests several possible linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons for the overgeneralisation and erratic omission of the third-person *-s*. Firstly, she suggests that the unpredictable nature of the present tense verb morphology of Standard English may lead to the lack of adherence to the rules and norms thereof. In addition, she suggests that this may also be contributed to by the fact that her participants' interactions were mainly of a transactional nature, therefore their ELF speech was driven by the goal of getting their messages across and not necessarily paying attention to the grammaticality of their utterances.

Breiteneder's participants make frequent use of a strategy which she calls "regularisation by analogy" (2005: 23). This strategy is used to normalise and simplify the seemingly unusual linguistic system of Standard English. Through the use of analogy, ELF speakers take note of the structure and use of present tense verbs they have come across before; they then apply this "regular pattern," which results in speech that is economical, simple and does not differ too much from the norm. The implication drawn from this practice is that,

because the third-person-singular present tense verbs in English are the only verb forms marked by an *-s* morpheme, L2 speakers assume this to be a regular pattern of structure and use. This explains why verbs which do not take this grammatical marker are treated in ELF as similar to all other third-person singular verbs.

Another of Breiteneder's suggestions is that the conflict between the principles of grammatical- and notional concord as well as the principle of proximity could explain overgeneralisation and erratic omission of the third-person *-s*. Grammatical concord is a rule in Standard English according to which a verb must agree in number with its subject, as in (17).

(17) He *paints* the roof.

Here the verb *paints* agrees with its third-person-singular subject *He*, as is indicated by marking the verb with the third-person-singular morpheme *-s*. Notional concord is when the meaning of the subject, as opposed to its form, determines the choice of verb form, as illustrated in (18).

(18) You will have to ask the group and see what they *say*.

In this example, *the group* is seen as a plural noun (as is evident from the use of the pronoun *they*); the verb *say* agrees with this notion of plurality. Finally, the principle of proximity is when "the head of a noun phrase that functions as the subject of the utterance is grammatically singular, yet the verb is chosen in agreement with the closely preceding noun phrase" (Breiteneder 2005: 15). An example is in (19).

(19) Everyone apart from his sisters *think* it's a good idea.

In this example, *think* should agree in number with its singular subject *Everyone* but the verb is put in agreement with the closest preceding plural NP *his sisters*; this is explained through reference to the distance between the subject *Everyone* and its verb *think*. Even E-L1 speakers may at times utter deviations from the Standard English norm following these three principles. Once these principles become part of an L2 speaker's linguistic intuitions, Breiteneder suggests that ELF speakers may develop a grammar that differs from the Standard English norm. In this way, overgeneralisation and erratic omission of the third-person *-s* may be normalised, to some extent, in ELF.

There are even more suggested explanations for overgeneralisation and erratic omission of the third-person *-s*, namely that it is a result of consonant cluster reduction. The use of these two strategies aids the pronunciation of word-final clusters as in (20).

(20) The show *last* three hours.

Breiteneder mentions five instances of such simplification of consonant clusters in which the third-person *-s* is omitted, thus deviating from the Standard English norm, perhaps introducing a new ELF norm (Breiteneder 2005: 21).

Another possible explanation Breiteneder gives for the instability in the use of the third-person singular present tense *-s*, is an extra-linguistic one. She states that the omission of the third-person *-s* also features in situations of language contact. The author quotes Trudgill (2002) who reports that in East Anglia, the “third-person singular present tense zero is in origin a contact feature which developed as a result of the presence of large numbers of non-L1 speakers of English in Norwich who, in using ELF among themselves and with the native population, failed to master, as non-native speakers often do, the non-natural person-marking system of English verbs” (Trudgill 2002: 97 in Breiteneder 2005: 21). Breiteneder states that the ELF interactions in her data occur in multilingual settings, and may therefore be viewed as a type of language contact situation in which contact features arise of which, she suggests, overgeneralisation and erratic omission of the third-person *-s* are examples.

Finally, in a different ELF study, Cogo and Dewey (2006: 80) found that when there is an E-L1 speaker in an ELF interaction, the frequencies of the use of the third-person *-s* are higher than when there is no E-L1 speaker in the interaction. In interactions involving only ELF speakers, there is a tendency to use zero-marking of the third person verb form more frequently. The authors conclude that third-person zero “is emerging as the more characteristic, unmarked feature for present simple verb forms in ELF communication” (Cogo and Dewey 2006: 80) because the third-person *-s* morpheme on a simple present tense English verb is a linguistic “element so marked in nature (that) it is bound to be prone to change, especially in contact situations” (Cogo and Dewey 2006: 89).

2.6.6 Smit's study of ELF in higher education

Smit (2010) reports on a longitudinal study she undertook on the kinds of discourse-pragmatic patterns which emerge in ELF interactions within professionally-oriented tertiary education courses. International students with various L1s enrol in the Hotel Management Program (HMP) of a hotel school in Vienna, Austria, with the aim of eventually entering the hospitality management industry. The classes in the HMP are conducted in ELF as teachers and students have no other common language for teaching and learning, and for communication with each other.

The study was done over a period of three and a half years in which the author observed and recorded lessons conducted in ELF, interviewed various lecturers and took part in informal conversations with a number of lecturers and students. This was an extensive study in which the author followed, analysed and explained specific discourse strategies which were used to assure successful communication. Interestingly, due to the awareness L2 speakers of English have of possible grammatical and communicative failure, Smit found that ELF speakers exhibit more and different explicit uses of strategies that check for and assure understanding. The many results that were reported include, broadly, the uses of various repair strategies, directives in order to aid classroom organization as well as interactive explaining as a way of negotiating knowledge. Illustratively, this section will discuss one of these results, namely repair.

Smit found that the ELF speakers in the HMP resort more often than E-L1 speakers do, to different kinds of repair strategies (self- and other repair, and self-initiated and other-initiated repair) to co-construct shared understanding (Smit 2010: 221). Self-initiated/self repair is when the speaker him-/herself detects a fault in the content or grammaticality of an utterance and verbally repairs it without any prompting from his/her conversational partners. Other-initiated/other-repair is when another interlocutor taking part in the conversation detects a (grammatical or content) fault in the speaker's utterance. This interlocutor will then repair the speaker's utterance without the speaker's prompt for assistance. Other-initiated/self-repair is when the hearer recognises that the speaker has produced a faulty (part of an) utterance (in either grammaticality or content) and signals

that something is wrong; the speaker then repairs his/her utterance. Finally, self-initiated/other repair occurs when the speaker falters and signals that he/she is experiencing some difficulty, and the hearer then offers a repair.

The author found that the strategy of repair in the HMP lessons was initially very common but the number of times it was used decreased as the year progressed. Other-repair was a frequently-used strategy in general. Smit found that teachers initially used this strategy very frequently, but this was soon surpassed by the students themselves offering repairs as they became more at ease.

Other-initiated repair was used mostly by the teachers during the first few lessons of the year, after which the students increasingly made use of self-initiated repair. Smit points out that other-initiated repair is a typical feature of most L1 classrooms in that the teachers encourage and empower their students by helping them and giving them (mostly content-related) clues. In this instance, however, the other-initiated repairs are indicative of the authentic grammatical and communicative difficulties experienced by the teachers and students, both of whom are ELF speakers. For Smit, the presence of this type of repair emphasised its own specific interactional role in the communication between ELF speakers. She believes that other-initiated repair, in which the hearer initiates a repair-move and the speaker actually effects the repair, is an integral feature of ELF classroom interaction.

Smit found that both other-repairs and other-initiated repairs were very directly verbalized. She reasons that this aids the speaker in formulating his/her utterances as clearly and concisely as possible. However, there is also another side to such repairs in that this could be a serious threat to the conversational participant's public face.

Self repairs and self-initiated repairs were few. There were hardly any instances of participants self-repairing their linguistic errors. Errors of factual content, incorrect use of specific terms and classroom procedure were corrected, though not often.

Smit comes to three important conclusions regarding repairs. The first is that repair is a "highly relevant discoursal strategy in [...] ELF educational setting(s)" (Smit 2010: 224).

The second is that the ways in which the ELF participants repair in the HMP classroom are an indication of their interactional roles and their gradual development. Finally, the directness of other-repairs and other-initiated repairs is indicative of a “locally developing interactional convention along the lines of ‘directness meaning explicitness, and no threat to public face’” (Smit 2010: 224).

2.6.7 Klimpfinger's study of code-switching in ELF

Klimpfinger (2007) studied the various roles of code-switching in ELF interactions. Eight discussions were recorded during a conference held in Vienna in 2004, resulting in a total of approximately 12 hours worth of recordings of interactions between 50 academic representatives from various universities and tertiary educational institutions in Europe. These participants had various European (and a few Asian) L1s and thus had to use ELF at the conference. All were competent in ELF because they had learnt English in formal educational settings over a number of years. In addition, the participants have frequent opportunities in which to practice their ELF because they form part of an international committee and need to use the language on a regular basis in order to communicate with their colleagues. As with the interactions analysed by Breiteneder (2005), the participants in Klimpfinger's data discussed highly-specialised topics, which accounts for the transactional nature of the discussions.

Klimpfinger's data showed that ELF speakers choose to code-switch by using various parts of their L1s or non-L1s, ranging from very short word-fragments, single words and short phrases, to fairly long talk passages¹² (see Sections 3.3.9, 3.5.3, 4.3.4 and 5.5 for examples from the data for this study). The author suggests four reasons as to why ELF speakers would code-switch within their ELF interactions.

¹² The concepts of a ‘matrix language’ and an ‘embedded language’ is relevant here. In codeswitching, a matrix language is the language that provides the grammatical structure of the utterances; the embedded language usually provides words and phrases that are inserted into the matrix language. Relating this term to Klimpfinger's ELF study, the matrix language used by her participants is ELF and the embedded language would account for words from each participant's L1, that are used in the course of an ELF interaction.

The first reason for code-switching is that it provides a means for the speaker to direct his/her speech to one specific addressee rather than to the whole group. In addition, a speaker can use a more explicit way of directing his/her speech to a particular addressee by uttering the addressee's first names or titles.

The second reason for code-switching proposed by Klimpfinger is its use in signalling the need for and reception of assistance from another L1 speaker of the embedded language. Klimpfinger notes that this may be risky in ELF interactions because it is not always clear that someone who speaks the same L1 as the speaker will be present to help.

The third reason put forward for code-switching in ELF is that an ELF speaker may feel better equipped to express a particular idea in his/her L1. Because the participants in Klimpfinger's study discussed highly specialised topics, their ability to express themselves effectively would most likely not be as well-developed in ELF as it would be in their respective L1s. The author found that the participants who presented papers often used specific adjectives (e.g. *French, Belgian*) or NPs (e.g. *the paper, my university*) to refer to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. These expressions may influence or trigger code-switching because they strengthen the link between the topic and the topic language¹³. Klimpfinger postulates that, for the listeners, these expressions serve to reinforce the fact that the speakers are representative of the language community which they explicitly indicate and not of an English community.

The author also found that a topic language need not necessarily be the speaker's L1. She reports that it can also be the language one is obliged to use at work, so that the "work language", or the lingua franca at work, becomes the preferred language to switch into. Klimpfinger refers to a female Portuguese L1 speaker switching from ELF into German because of the fact that she lives and works in Austria and therefore feels a strong link between the topic and the language of her work environment. Klimpfinger finds that the switch between languages in ELF interactions is not constrained by the L1s and primary

¹³ Klimpfinger defines a "topic language" as the language in which the speakers discuss these topics when away from the ELF context (i.e. when they discuss these topics in their respective regional, professional settings).

cultures of the speakers involved. Furthermore, ELF speakers are members of a number of different cultures and can thus switch into a number of different languages, the knowledge of which is available to them.

Finally, Klimpfinger finds that code-switching may occur to indicate one's specific linguistic identity and group membership. The author reports that in her data, emblematic switches (such as tags or exclamations) are taken from the L1 or any language other than English and placed in the ELF utterance. For example, a male Portuguese L1 speaker produces an ELF utterance and a female French L1 speaker affirms this utterance with "*Oui*", even though she is the only French speaker in the interaction. Klimpfinger suggests that this speaker's switch to French illustrates her need to signal her multicultural identity (i.e. her ELF and her French identity). There is a lack of content in her utterance and it is therefore not the focus of attention.

Klimpfinger (2007: 55) states that such an indication of cultural identity through code-switching can occur through reference to "homelands, backgrounds or special expressions associated with a specific culture, by which a speaker creates an even stronger cultural association for the interlocutors." She provides an example of an ELF interaction in which a female Italian L1 speaker refers to her hometown of *Roma* (Rome). This switch indicates the speaker's Italian background through her choice of language (Italian) and the actual reference to Rome as her place of origin. Contrary to the previous example, this instance of code-switching carries more information than a simple exclamation would.

Klimpfinger is careful to point out that overlapping may occur when attempting to categorise these instances of code-switching. She explains that, for example, one may direct one's speech to a specific addressee when appealing for assistance or an emblematic switch could be included when specifying an addressee.

In conclusion, the author indicates that ELF participants find themselves in situations with a high risk of miscommunication or non-understanding. She explains that "they self-confidently resort to code-switching, display their skills actively, successfully collaborate to achieve shared understanding, and show acceptance towards code-switching performed

by interlocutors, which confirms once again the cooperative and supportive character of ELF interactions” (Klimpfinger 2007: 58).

2.6.8 Pölzl's study of first language use in ELF to signal cultural identity

Similarly to Klimpfinger's area of ELF interest, Pölzl (2003) studied the use of participants' L1s in ELF in order to signal cultural identity. She recorded conversations between ELF participants of both sexes, ranging in age from 20 to 60+ years, of various nationalities (Austrian, Egyptian, German, Greek, Italian, Jordanian, Japanese, Lebanese, Spanish, Turkish), language backgrounds and levels of proficiency in English. The recordings were conducted in various settings (professional, educational and private). The participants also had different professional profiles. The recordings took place in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Austria and Singapore. The researcher was involved in 35 of the 40 conversations.

Pölzl found that L1 usage in ELF does not necessarily indicate an underlying deficit in the speaker's ELF proficiency. Such a view of deficiency is usually telling of an L1 speaker's assumption that ELF speakers are necessarily language learners. Rather, L1 usage in ELF indicates the speaker's loyalty towards his/her L1 and indicates his/her linguistic and, thus also, cultural identity. The author finds that, apart from their desire to indicate cultural memberships, ELF speakers want to act politely and co-operatively. This is shown in their use of terms of address, activity-based expressions, greetings, speech acts or culture-laden labels.

2.6.9 Jenkins' Lingua Franca Core

Although the present study is not primarily phonologically-based, for the sake of giving a complete review of current ELF research it is important to refer briefly to the work of Jenkins on the phonetics and phonology of European ELF.

Jenkins (2000, 2002) created a phonological syllabus for ELF learners called the “Lingua Franca Core” (hereafter LFC). The LFC contains “those phonological and phonetic features which [...] seem to be crucial as safeguards of mutual intelligibility of [interlanguage talk]”

(Jenkins 2002: 96). American Standard English (hereafter ASE) or British Standard English (hereafter BSE) pronunciation are viewed as the pronunciation norms to which ELF learners should aspire. She notes that any pronunciation deviation from these two “standard” dialects is viewed as an error by E-L1 speakers. Jenkins points out the anomaly hereof in that these L1 norms seem to disregard regional variation in pronunciation of ELF speakers, considering that even among L1 speakers there are regional differences on this level.

The LFC that Jenkins defines does not strictly conform to the pronunciation standards of BSE or ASE. Rather, the features in the LFC help ELF learners with a more attainable and regionally-adapted pronunciation of English. For Jenkins, the ultimate aim of ELF is mutual intelligibility and not “correct” English that conforms to the “standard.”

Jenkins recorded and studied conversations between ELF speakers with a wide range of L1s to identify pronunciation features that are viewed as “incorrect” in BSE and ASE, but do not cause misunderstanding or miscommunication. On the basis of these findings she developed pronunciation targets for ELF learners that would be easier to teach and learn than the standard pronunciations.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced work of scholars who have contributed the most to establishing ELF as an important area of linguistic enquiry in increasingly multilingual discursive environments worldwide. The following chapter will turn to work on South African varieties of English that have developed as part of the need to find a lingua franca in multilingual social settings and public domains in the country.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW OF SECOND LANGUAGE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

Branford (in de Klerk 1996: 35) distinguishes between five South African population groups with reference to the varieties of English each group speaks. These groups include white speakers of Afrikaans, Coloureds¹⁴, Blacks, Indians and English-speaking whites. The varieties of English range in that the first four groups all speak E-L2, and the last group speaks it as E-L1. In contrast to the very limited research on ELF in South Africa, a great deal has been done on the grammatical features of L2 varieties of English in South Africa, specifically on Black South African English, Cape Flats English and the English of Afrikaans L1 speakers. Although many features identified in the studies discussed in Chapter 2 introduce linguistic features that are typical of E-L2, there is a difference between the *approaches* to studying E-L2 and studying ELF. The approach in E-L2 studies takes E-L1 as the target to which E-L2 speakers should strive. Then an E-L2 utterance which deviates from what the grammatical rules of E-L1 would prescribe is regarded as an error. However, in ELF studies the aim is not to work with an E-L1 norm, so that differences from E-L1 are not considered to be errors or deviations. Rather than a normative approach, the idea is to investigate how English is used to achieve certain communicative aims in a multilingual context. What follows is a brief description of the notable linguistic features from the research on these three L2 varieties of English. These features are notable as they were identified in early research that recognised South African varieties of English.

¹⁴ Racial categories were and still are a contentious issue in South Africa due to the hurtful divisions of the Apartheid era. Although the country's democracy is already 16 years old, racial categorisation remains a sensitive issue. The researcher is mindful of this, and for lack of established alternative terminology, the term "Coloured" is used in a non-derogatory way to refer to the group of the South African population ethnically identified as of "mixed ancestry" (Jantjies 2009: 2).

3.2 Distinguishing a second language variety from a learner language: the case of Euro-English

Mollin (2007) developed a theoretical instrument, based on previous research of New Englishes, to distinguish between an E-L2 variety and English as a learner language. For her, when a language is used as a foreign language it is a learner language that speakers are in the process of developing, aspiring to achieve a level of competence closer to that of an L1 variety. Using the various criteria explained below, the author investigated Euro-English to determine whether this could be identified as an E-L2 variety (thus as a “New English” in Kachru’s terms) or if it is merely learner language. To qualify as a new variety, Mollin suggests that the suspected variety has to have undergone three processes: expansion in function, nativisation of form and institutionalisation of a new standard. Although this thesis does not investigate learner language as opposed to a new L2 variety, these processes will be applied to determine whether a lingua franca may be considered a new variety.

Regarding the criterion of expansion, one would expect a new variety to have been incorporated into and used in more domains than just language classrooms or limited contact situations in the community in question. In the case of Euro-English, Mollin explains that English has several notable functions in most of the European communities as a result of expansion. These are, for example, as the medium of instruction in education, the language used on various levels of governmental administration, the language of the media, the language of literary creativity, and finally the medium of communication between non-L1 speakers within the same community.

Regarding the second criterion of nativisation, a new variety would, according to Kachru, approximate to the linguistic and discoursal characteristics of the L1 or dominant language of the area in which it has developed (Mollin 2007: 171). Mollin explains that this English will acquire new formal features which will distinguish it from the L1 standard and from other L2 varieties.

As part of nativisation, Mollin suggests further conditions to assure that deviations from the E-L1 standard will not be treated as errors. The new variety needs to exhibit change on all

linguistic levels (i.e. phonological, lexical, grammatical as well as discursal style). In addition, speakers of the new English must systematically make the same types of deviations, thereby ensuring that the new variety is a closed system. Finally, the new variety must have a range of registers and styles.

Regarding the third criterion of institutionalisation, a new nativised language variety must be accepted by its speech community as the norm. Within the institutionalisation criterion, once again, there are further conditions which Mollin highlights, namely (i) the target performance towards which ELF speakers aspire should not be too far removed from their actual linguistic behaviour, and (ii) speakers should identify with the new local norm by being open to it and accepting its label as a “new variety”. Acceptance of the new variety as the norm should occur on all levels in the community and should be manifested especially in the official public sectors.

In applying the above-mentioned criteria to Euro-English used by L1 speakers of European languages such as German, Dutch or French, Mollin found that, with regard to the expansion criterion, national languages are still mainly used in standard domains in which a new English could (but does not) feature. The particular national languages are fully-fledged, functional and standardised and thus not replaced by a variety of E-L2 or by ELF. Even though English is widely used in Europe (especially as a lingua franca) it does not match these national languages in terms of functionality and standardisation. Therefore, expansion of Euro-English cannot be said to have occurred.

With regard to the nativisation criterion, Mollin notes that on a very limited scale one can confirm nativisation. To illustrate, Mollin’s study revealed that it is common for European ELF speakers to use the words “eventual” in the sense of ‘possible’ and “possibility” in the sense of ‘opportunity.’ The semantic properties of these two lexical items are used by most of the ELF speakers in her data. However, other than these two occurrences, there were no major systematic and communal features. Therefore, the author concluded that nativisation had not occurred.

Mollin argues that without expansion and nativisation in Euro-English, it is not possible for institutionalisation to occur. Both expansion and nativisation are sequentially required before institutionalisation is possible. The author notes that institutionalisation is more

difficult to research because it relates to “people’s attitudes as well as their ‘standards in the mind’” (Mollin 2007: 180).

Mollin’s conclusion is that no separate, communal European linguistic variety of English has developed. Rather, she finds that English in Europe should still be placed in the Expanding Circle of Kachru’s concentric circle model (as was suggested earlier in Mollin (2006b)), as in such terms it is used largely as a foreign language. From an ELF perspective, the outcome may have been different, as in many public domains where internationals communicate through the medium of ELF, the speakers have levels of English proficiency that are undoubtedly higher than the attainment associated with foreign-language or learner-language proficiency. Certainly, in terms of Mollin’s “New English” criteria, the English of European international communication does not fit. Therefore, considering a third possibility, ELF, seems to me to be a very helpful suggestion.

The following sections review some of the literature on three South African varieties of English that have been identified as L2 varieties. Interesting work on E-L2 varieties in South Africa has been done by various South African linguists. However, very little of this research focuses specifically on the grammatical features of these E-L2 varieties; most seems to focus on the phonologies of these E-L2 varieties (cf. Wissing 2002, van Rooy 2002, Finn 2008) or on the attitudes of their respective speakers (cf. De Klerk 2003). The works to be introduced here are the preliminary and most descriptive accounts of grammatical features of BSAE, CFE and AfrE. These works do have a typically E-L2 approach (see section 3.1) which is rarely followed in current South African multilingual studies. Apart from McCormick (2002), hardly any follow-up research on the grammatical features of these varieties has been undertaken.

3.3 Features of Black South African English

3.3.1 Word stress

Gough (in de Klerk 1996: 60) finds that speakers of BSAE tend to assign word stress in unique provide an answer to whether these varieties should be categorised as “New Englishes” or “English lingua francae”, they are important for my analysis of a small data

sample in terms of the ELF versus E-L2 distinction, which will be done in Chapter 4. Gough notes that word stress is often assigned to the second-last syllable after it has undergone syllable lengthening (which is a regular phonological rule in indigenous South African languages). He provides examples such as *se'venty*, *hospita'lity* and *cig'arette*, where /ə/ in the penultimate syllables is replaced by the respective full vowels (in this case /E/, /I/ and /i/). This would count as one instance of nativisation as it is described by Mollin.

3.3.2 Grammatical features

In terms of the grammatical features of BSAE, Gough (in de Klerk 1996: 61-63) provides the following list of features (with examples from (21) to (42)) that were most commonly found in Gough (1994a) and McEwan (1992):

Non-count as count nouns

(21) You must put more *efforts* into your work.

(22) She was carrying *a luggage*.

Omission of articles

(23) He was Ø good man.

Noun phrases not always marked for number

(24) We did all our *subject* in English.

Extension of the progressive

(25) Even racism *is still existing*.

(26) Men *are still dominating* the key positions in education.

(27) She *was loving* him very much.

Simplification of verbal concord

(28) The survival of a person *depend* on education.

Simplification of tense

(29) I wish that people in the world *will* get educated.

(30) We Ø supposed to stay in our homes.

Past tense not always marked

(31) In 1980 the boycott *starts*.

(32) We stayed in our home until the boycott *stops*.

Generalisation of ‘being’ as a participial

(33) He left *being* thirsty.

Relative pronoun usage

(34) She was very unhappy *of which* it was clear to see.

Question order retained in indirect questions

(35) I asked him *why did he go*.

Use of subordinators

(36) *Although* she loved him but she didn’t marry him.

(37) *If at all* you do not pay, you will go to jail.

Né as an invariant tag question (borrowed from Afrikaans)

(38) You start again by pushing this button, *né?*

Use of quantifiers

(39) *Others* were drinking, *others* were eating.

(40) I stay *some few* miles away.

‘X’s first time’ for ‘the first time that X...’

(41) This is *my first time* to go on a journey.

Can be able to as modal verb

(42) I *can be able to* go.

Gough explains the features listed above through reference to L1 transfer. This accounts for the occurrence of such forms particularly among L1 speakers of African languages. In addition, they can also be explained through reference to universal features of language learning. This accounts for their general similarities with other new Englishes.

3.3.3 Vocabulary

In terms of BSAE vocabulary, Gough lists a variety of words from various African languages used in BSAE (e.g. the isiXhosa words *mama* (a term of address for an older, respected woman), and *skebenga* (a criminal)). He also shows how the meanings of certain English words undergo changes, as in (43) and (44) below, where *touch* is used to mean “drop by”, and *worse* is used to mean “especially” or “even more so”.

(43) I must quickly *touch* the beauty salon.

(44) A: Jane is pretty.

B: Thandiwe is *worse* (= “Thandiwe is prettier than Jane”).

Late is used in Standard English as an attributive adjective to refer to, for example, a person who has passed away (as in (45)). In BSAE it is commonly used as a predicative adjective (see (46)), as if it is homonymous with “not being on time” (see (47)).

(45) My *late* father used to live in Idutywa.

(46) My father is *late*. (= “My father has passed away.”)

(47) My father is *late*. (= “My father did not arrive on time.”)

Somebody is used as the semantic equivalent of “person” as in (48).

(48) He is a very important *somebody*.

Gough also notes differences in stylistic range which he illustrates by referring to words that in Standard English would be used only in a formal context (as *abode*) or only informally (such as *mommy*), and that in BSAE are used in informal as well as formal contexts respectively.

3.3.4 Discourse patterns

Discourse patterns in BSAE are different to those in Standard English. Gough finds that BSAE speakers prefer using indirect language rather than succinct, direct language as would be used in other Standard English varieties. He explains this indirectness by referring to the fact that in the indigenous cultures of South Africa one defers towards superiors to show respect. This discursive strategy of expressing deference, according to Gough, is transferred to BSAE interactions.

3.3.5 Speech acts

With regard to speech acts in BSAE, Gough shows how *sorry*, a word commonly used in E-L1 to introduce an apology, is often used as an expression of sympathy for a hearer's bad luck. A BSAE speaker would say *sorry* when, for example, a conversational partner accidentally trips and falls. Similarly, when making a request, BSAE speakers often use the performative verb (e.g. *I request...*, or *I ask...*, etc. as in (49)) explicitly, compared to the more conventional implicit performative as in (50).

(49) I am asking for a piece of paper.

(50) Please give me a piece of paper.

This is also viewed as a transfer from the BSAE speaker's L1 in that such explicit performatives are used in African languages to recognise the status of a superior and to show respect.

3.3.6 Turn-taking

Gough's study also shows that turn-taking in BSAE is different from turn-taking in Standard English varieties in that a BSAE speaker can select him-/herself to respond in a conversation (referred to as "self-selection"). This is in contrast to conversations conducted in E-L1 varieties in which "other-selection," where the speaker specifically indicates who he/she expects to take the next turn, is the norm. Gough notes that interruption and overlapping are less frequent in BSAE conversations than in Standard English. Turn-taking in BSAE is well-structured and the rules are carefully adhered to. In addition, the pauses between turns in BSAE conversations are found to be considerably longer than in Standard English conversations. However, these pauses are silent

and do not result in discomfort or awkwardness, which typically causes speakers to resort to fillers, hesitation markers or floor-holding devices in order to fill the silences between turns.

3.3.7 Discourse markers

Gough notes that the use of discourse markers in BSAE is idiosyncratic yet clearly influenced by the speakers' L1s. He provides the example of *in fact* which is commonly used in BSAE to emphasise a point although it appears to be semantically empty. Other phrases used similarly are *In my opinion I can say...*, *I can say that...*, *On my side...*, etc. Words and phrases such as *again* and *by all means* are frequently used in BSAE as intensifiers rather than as discourse markers of assurance.

3.3.8 Structuring of information

With regard to the structuring of information, Gough finds that BSAE speakers achieve focus in an utterance through word-ordering. The item in focus is put in the sentence-initial position as with *the best education* in (51).

(51) *The best education*, I need to get it.

Gough attributes this feature to the word-order rules of isiXhosa where the item in focus is placed in the sentence-initial position.

3.3.9 Code-switching

Code-switching also frequently occurs in BSAE. Gough explains this by reasoning that in certain social groups it is the norm to code-switch to indicate one's membership of both cultural groups (as denoted by the two languages that are switched between). Gough quotes Myers-Scotton who states that the use of English in code-switching may symbolise a speaker's elite, educated and powerful membership in a cultural group. However, being a member of other African cultural groups is also significantly important to BSAE speakers and the result is that English is used together with the speaker's specific vernacular.

3.4 Features of Cape Flats English

Branford (in de Klerk 1996: 37-38) distinguishes between white speakers and coloured speakers of Afrikaans. A dialect of English specific to the Western Cape, called Cape Flats English¹⁵ (hereafter CFE), has developed and is spoken by some coloured inhabitants in this part of South Africa. Branford notes an Afrikaans dialect continuum among L1 speakers in the Western Cape, ranging from Standard Afrikaans on the one end, through bi-dialectal Standard Afrikaans and CFE, to almost basilectal CFE on the other end. In addition, Malan (in de Klerk 1996: 134) refers to Wood's dialect continuum with regard to variation in "Coloured English", where there is "Extreme Coloured English" (a dialect significantly influenced by contact with Afrikaans) on the one end, and "Respectable Coloured English" (a variety very close to Standard South African English) on the other end. On this continuum, Malan suggests that linguistic variables are linked to (amongst other things) the speaker's social class, level of education, home language, area of residence and political affiliation.

3.4.1 Morphosyntactic features

In CFE, Malan's study has found that the rules of Standard English differ from those of CFE with regard to noun-verb concord. The copula *be* can take the third-person singular form with plural and singular subjects as in (52).

(52) The girls *was* singing.

Similarly, plural nouns can take singular demonstrative pronouns as in (53).

(53) *This dogs* barked at the man.

Malan also reports that most verbs except *be* have singular subjects with plural verb forms and vice versa (in (54) and (55) respectively).

¹⁵ Various terms have been suggested for the varieties of English spoken in "coloured" communities in the country, of which "Coloured English" and "Cape Flats English" are two. "Cape Flats English" refers specifically to a variety that is unique to the inhabitants of the area known in the Western Cape as the Cape Flats. "CFE" is often used to refer to a variety of English used in "coloured" communities elsewhere in the country, to which the speakers obviously object. To date there is no registered study on the similarities and differences between CFE and English used in "coloured" communities across all of South Africa.

(54) Me and my friend *drives* to the shop.

(55) She *cook* her food in the kitchen.

It is common in CFE to delete auxiliary verbs and contracted forms of *be* and *have* as exemplified in (56) and (57) respectively (see Section 5.2 for a full discussion of AUX-drop).

(56) She *got* a lot of money.

(57) We Ø going to the movies

Malan reports that it is also a common feature of CFE for the past tense morpheme *-ed* to be deleted by its speakers, as shown in (58).

(58) Yesterday, we *fetch* her from school.

With regard to prepositions, Malan states that *at*, *with*, *on*, *in* and *to* can all be substituted with *by* in CFE. She gives the respective examples in (59) to (63).

(59) I wasn't *by* (at) the beach.

(60) He get a lift *by* (with) his father.

(61) Do you know where I did go *by* (on) Easter Sunday?

(62) My sister is *by* (in) Yasmin's class.

(63) So she go *by* (to) a hospital.

In addition, the author states that *with the* may be used to mean *by* in CFE, as shown in (64).

(64) He went *with the* car to his granny's house.

In terms of pronouns, Malan (1996: 138) states that "pronominal apposition for topic or focus marking and the dative of advantage" is common in CFE. She provides the respective examples in (65) and (66).

(65) *My friend* he ride home.

(66) I'm gonna buy *me* a burger.

With regard to adverbials, Malan notes that the deletion of the adverbial morpheme *-ly* in CFE is subject to individual preference, as is exemplified in (67).

(67) Tommy ran *quick* down the road.

In addition, the author notes that temporal adverbials may be placed before locative ones as shown in (68).

(68) Her father was *for two years* away.

Malan also reports that adverbials like *now* and *also* may be placed in the penultimate position in an utterance. She provides the example in (69).

(69) I want *now* a biscuit.

Malan states that the double negative is also common in CFE but only when it occurs with another indefinite as shown in (70).

(70) *I didn't catch nothing.*

3.4.2 Vocabulary

With regard to the lexical features of CFE, Malan quotes McCormick's (1989) study in which it was found that borrowing from Afrikaans into non-Standard English did not occur often, thus resulting in the non-Standard English lexicon being largely unaffected by language contact. McCormick's study revealed that the minimal number of Afrikaans loanwords that were present in her data were mainly fillers or discourse markers which have no single English equivalent (e.g. *né, sommer*), slang expressions (e.g. to be *the moer in* ("angry")), and certain emotive words (e.g. *lastig* ("annoying"), *kak* ("shit")). McCormick notes that the use of Afrikaans loanwords in CFE is subject to individual preference.

3.5 Afrikaans transfer in South African English

Watermeyer¹⁶ (in de Klerk 1996: 99) believes that English spoken by Afrikaans L1 speakers (hereafter AfrE) is an E-L2 variety of which the large majority are speakers of L1

¹⁶ This section is structured in accordance with that of Watermeyer's (in de Klerk 1996). In addition, this is merely a review of what she found in her study; it is not the purpose of this study to critically comment on her work or that of other authors.

Afrikaans, who use Afrikaans within their home communities. This variety is restricted mostly to white speakers of Afrikaans which is due, in part, to the apartheid policies of South Africa which brought about segregation on racial and ethnic grounds. Thus, AfrE is distinctly different from the varieties of English spoken by Coloureds or Blacks.

Watermeyer believes that L1 transfer is not the only explanation for the characterising features of AfrE. She suggests that regular linguistic processes such as hypercorrection and overgeneralisation are also accountable. The author notes that the features described below are not universally present in AfrE. Many L1 speakers of Afrikaans use a variety of English that is similar to L1 South African English, so that individual speaker differences need to be considered. Finally, some of the features described below, according to Watermeyer, also occur in other E-L2 varieties and can thus be considered as general trends in English. Characteristics that have become more widely used are most likely in the process of being established as ELF phenomena, and would warrant closer investigation from such a perspective.

3.5.1 Syntax

With regard to syntax, Watermeyer notes that AfrE presents some features also registered in the studies of New Englishes. These include:

Zero-marking of the third-person present tense verb

(71) He *drive* to the shop.

Not marking the verb in past tense

(72) Yesterday, she *find* him.

The use of aspect rather than tense or using them both together

(73) If we *go* to the beach, I *would have* seen my friends.

Be + verb + *-ing* extended to stative verbs

(74) She *was having* feelings towards him.

The author states that modal verbs in English (*can*, *will*, *shall* and *must*) have their present and past tense equivalents in Afrikaans (*kan*, *wil*, *sal* and *moet*, and *kon*, *wou*, *sou* and *moes*

respectively). She posits that this could be the cause of the confusion of modals experienced by some AfrE speakers, especially in complex sentences. Added to this, some Afrikaans modals have two English meanings, as with the Afrikaans modal *sal* (meaning both “shall” and “will”). Watermeyer provides the example in (75).

(75) I *couldn't* think you'll do it.

The Afrikaans equivalent of this example is *Ek sou nie dink dat jy dit sou doen nie*, where *sou* (meaning “would” or “should”) is the past tense of *sal* (meaning “will” or “shall”). The speaker actually means to say *I wouldn't think you'd do it*. Watermeyer states that the use of dummy *do* as in (76) is not a significant feature in AfrE.

(76) We *did* go to the shop to buy food.

In terms of word order, Watermeyer states that AfrE speakers frequently use the unmarked Afrikaans order of adverbs in unmarked English constructions, resulting in an utterance such as that in (77).

(77) The man *earlier* died in the hospital.

The author also notes that adverbials can be put in the second-last position in AfrE main clauses, as exemplified in (78). Watermeyer quotes Platt and Weber (1980: 122) when she reports that adverb movement is a feature of New Englishes.

(78) She also went *yesterday* to work.

The author lists another feature of AfrE as the non-standard use of *now*. In AfrE, *now* can be used as an intensifier or filler as in (79).

(79) He's *now* really stupid.

Another feature that is common to New Englishes and is found in AfrE, is the use of interrogative word order after WH-conjunctions in subordinate clauses. Watermeyer provides the example in (80).

(80) We must try and find out *what is he up to*.

3.5.2 Morphology

Concord is a feature which is markedly different in AfrE compared to standard forms of E-L1. Afrikaans verbs are not marked in terms of number or person correlated to the subject. AfrE speakers tend to transfer this feature, thus omitting the grammatical marker of English verbs in these terms. Watermeyer finds that the plural form of the copula *be* following a singular subject, is quite common in AfrE, as exemplified in (81).

(81) He *were* showing her where to go.

Afrikaans has the same demonstrative form for both singular and plural nouns (*hierdie* as the equivalent of “this” or “these” and *daardie* as the equivalent of “that” or “those”). Distinctions between these demonstratives in AfrE may be neglected as is illustrated in my example in (82). Lack of concord between nouns and their respective plural quantifiers is also common in AfrE. Watermeyer provides the example in (83).

(82) *This dogs* are very dangerous.

(83) Two *pair* of socks.

With regard to prepositions in AfrE, Watermeyer finds that in some instances, speakers transfer directly from Afrikaans, using an equivalent English form which turns out not to be idiomatic, as is shown in (84).

(84) Her brother was married *with* an English lady.

In this instance, the AfrE utterance is structurally-similar to the Afrikaans equivalent *Haar broer is met 'n Engelse dame getroud*. In other cases, however, prepositions are sometimes completely left out as is shown in (85) and (86).

(85) She's [in] standard three now.

(86) They buy [in] Stellenridge.

Watermeyer notes that this specific deletion of the preposition is also a feature of L2s more generally.

Afrikaans has only one phonological realisation of the indefinite article, *'n*, whereas English has two: *a* before words beginning with consonants and *an* before words beginning

with vowels. Watermeyer notes that AfrE speakers often do not make a distinction between *a* and *an* and therefore it is more likely that AfrE speakers would produce marked utterances like *a unattractive girl*. Watermeyer notes that the article is also sometimes completely left out which could be a result of the influence of certain similar constructions in Afrikaans. An example of this is in (87).

(87) I did learn a bit of Ø piano.

The construction of this utterance is similar to that of the Afrikaans *Ek het wel 'n bietjie Ø klavier geleer*, where the article is omitted yet the utterance is grammatical. The author also notes that the non-standard use of the expression *the one* in front of singular nouns occurs in AfrE. This expression may be used to highlight the speaker's particular item of emphasis in the sentence for the hearer. The author provides the example in (88).

(88) *The one* night it rained *the one* dinghy fell over.

With regard to the morphological properties of adverbials, Watermeyer found that the morpheme *-ly* is sometimes omitted from adverbs in AfrE as is illustrated in (89). She notes, however, that this is not a regular feature in AfrE.

(89) She sang *beautiful*.

3.5.3 Vocabulary

Watermeyer states that AfrE speakers code-switch and code-mix substantially between Afrikaans and English, as well as make use of loan translations when speaking AfrE. These words, the author notes, would not be used by an L1 speaker in South Africa. However, code-switching as such is not restricted to AfrE speakers because South African E-L1 speakers borrow words from Afrikaans, so much so that some words occur in the everyday speech of E-L1 speakers (e.g. *braai* meaning “barbeque” and *stoep* meaning “verandah”). The author notes that certain idiomatic expressions are transferred somewhat directly from Afrikaans into English as in (90).

(90) He threw my car with a brick.

This transfer is from the Afrikaans *Hy het my kar met 'n baksteen gegooi* meaning “He threw a brick at my car”.

Watermeyer also reports on pairs of English words being used interchangeably by AfrE speakers to refer to the same entity. This occurs especially when a word in Afrikaans has two equivalent words in English. The author provides the examples in (91) to (96).

- (91) *Ride* and *drive* (Afrikaans speakers primarily use *ry* to denote both meanings);
- (92) *learn* and *teach* (Afrikaans speakers use *leer* to denote both meanings);
- (93) *lend* and *borrow* (Afrikaans speakers make use of *leen* to denote both meanings);
- (94) *loaf* and *bread* (Afrikaans speakers use *brood* to denote both meanings);
- (95) *when* and *if* (Afrikaans speakers use *as* or *wanneer* to denote *when*, but confusion arises because Afrikaans *as* can also mean “if” or conditional “when” therefore resulting in confusion of the two terms), and
- (96) *less* and *few* (Afrikaans speakers use *min* before count and non-count nouns to denote both meanings).

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I addressed a distinction widely attended to in earlier literature, namely between a learner language and an L2 variety of a language. The chapter has given an overview of studies on BSAE, CFE and AfrE by scholars who have recorded the distinguishing features of these as L2 varieties. Considering the overlap between the various L2 varieties of English in South Africa and even L2 varieties in other contexts such as Germany, India or Nigeria, one is obliged to investigate these features as possible ELF characteristics. This study will not attempt an exhaustive investigation of overlapping features of E-L2 varieties and ELF. However, in Chapter 4, I shall give a description and analysis of a small sample of data collected among L1 speakers of various South African languages, where English is the lingua franca. Chapter 4 will first give an exposition of methodological considerations, and explain how the data were collected. Then, an analysis of the data in terms of ELF will be presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS OF ELF DATA

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a detailed but not exhaustive description and analysis of the ELF data that were collected for this thesis will be provided. A number of the grammatical and discursive ELF features of the English used in the recorded discourses that are notable, are given special attention in Section 4.3 of this chapter. Specifically, features noted for being different to standard expectations will be attended to, also considering the frequency with which they were used. Sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.4 each introduce one of the features of ELF as they are used by the respondents in this project. .

4.2 Methodology

As has been indicated in Section 1.4 this study gives a thorough review of the ELF research of the past 10 years, as well as a review of significant studies on E-L2 varieties in South Africa. These studies provide the framework against which recorded conversations collected in the Western Cape for this study are to be analysed. The empirical part of the study relies on the language use of 14 participants of different language backgrounds who, in multilingual contact situations, use the local lingua franca, which is English.

4.2.1 Data collection

Data collection was done in the course of seven conversations which were set up and recorded by the researcher after gaining due ethical clearance from Stellenbosch University. The respondents were selected from the tutorial groups in the Department of Linguistics. The researcher surveyed the first languages of the whole group, and if they were not E-L1 speakers, they were asked to participate. Two E-L1 speakers were randomly selected from the class to serve as a control group. The recruited participants were informed of the nature of the project in which they were requested to take part as well as being informed that exceptional care would be taken to keep all personal information and

opinions confidential. They were then asked to sign consent forms (see Appendix A). Special care was taken not to draw attention to the researcher's interest in the characterising features of speakers' L2 (or ELF), as it was important that they take part in the conversation with minimal attention to their selection of words and linguistic structure. A brief questionnaire was set up in order to obtain the necessary personal language histories of each participant (see Appendix B). Respondents were asked to read a text which was provided for them as a topic for discussion (see Appendix C) in their respective conversations with a speaker from an L1 community different to their own (see explication in Section 4.2.2 of participants and how the speakers were paired). The researcher was present during the conversations, but at times had to initiate and stimulate these conversations.

4.2.2 The participants

This section will briefly give the language profile of each of the participants, to give an impression of when they were first introduced to English as an L2, and in which contexts they most often use their L2 as lingua franca. Table 1 below gives a summary of the relevant information on the language profile of each participant. In all, there were five speakers who indicated Afrikaans as their L1 (four of whom would most likely be characterised as speakers of Kaapse Afrikaans, although I did not explicitly ask this information), five speakers who identified isiXhosa as their L1, one speaker who identified isiZulu as her L1, one speaker who identified Xitsonga as her L1, and two participants who indicated English (notably Standard South African English) as their L1. Except in conversation 3, where two isiXhosa L1 speakers communicated through the medium of English, all the conversations were conducted in English between speakers with different L1s.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>L1</u>	<u>Age of English introduction</u>	<u>Other languages</u>	<u>Domains of English use</u>	<u>Bilingual self-rated proficiency average:</u> 3=Good; 1=Poor
Thandiwe	25	isiXhosa	6 yrs	English Afrikaans German	English secondary school, at home,	Xho = 3 Eng = 3 Afr = 2.25 Ger = 2.25
Mandisa	20	Xitsonga	5-6 yrs	English Afrikaans Xhosa	English secondary school	Ts = 3 Eng = 2.75 Afr = 2 Xho = 1.5
Ntombi	27	isiZulu	5 yrs	English Xhosa Afrikaans	English secondary school, everywhere	Zulu = 3 Eng = 3 Xho = 3 Afr = 2.25
Anele	24	isiXhosa	11 yrs	English Afrikaans	English secondary school , with friends, at university	Xho = 3 Eng = 3 Afr = 2
Anga	18	isiXhosa	3-4 yrs	English Afrikaans	English secondary school , at home, with friends	Xho = 2 Eng = 3 Afr = 1.75
Bulelwa	19	isiXhosa	6 yrs	English Afrikaans	English secondary school , at home	Xho = 2.75 Eng = 3 Afr = 1.5
Melissa	19	Afrikaans	4-5 yrs	English	At home, with friends, at university	Afr = 3 Eng = 3
Celeste	20	English	From birth	Afrikaans, German	At home, with friends	Eng = 3 Afr = 3 Ger = 2.75
Mikayla	19	Afrikaans	8 years	English	Everywhere	Afr = 2.5 Eng = 3
Michelle	18	English	From birth	Afrikaans	English secondary school , at home	Eng = 3 Afr = 2.25
Jade	20	Afrikaans	6-7 yrs	English	At home, at school, with friends	Afr = 2.5 Eng = 3
Danielle	21	Afrikaans	From birth	English	At home, at university	Afr = 3 Eng = 3
Mercia	18	Afrikaans	11 yrs	English	At university	Afr = 3 Eng = 2.25
Nomsa	21	isiXhosa	5 yrs	English, Afrikaans	English secondary school , at res, at university, with friends	Xho = 2.5 Eng = 3 Afr = 2.5

Table 1. Summary of linguistic profile of participants

In Conversation 1, Thandiwe¹⁷ was paired with Mandisa. Thandiwe is 25 years old from Umtata in the Eastern Cape and regards herself as fully bilingual in isiXhosa and English, with isiXhosa as her L1. She started to learn English at six years of age, eventually becoming so proficient in the language that she went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she uses both isiXhosa and English at home but states that she uses English “everywhere.”

Mandisa is 20 years old from Tableview in Cape Town and regards Xitsonga as her L1. She states that she began learning English before Grade 1 (i.e. before the age of 7). She regards herself as very fluent in English although she notes that her writing in English is average. She went to an English high school and eventually wrote her matric exams in English. She also notes that she has an average speaking competency in another seven South African languages (Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, Tshivenda). She reports that she speaks English at home to her adopted family and Xitsonga to her brother and sisters.

In Conversation 2, Ntombi was paired with Anele. Ntombi is 27 years old from Gugulethu in Cape Town and regards isiZulu as her L1. She states that she began learning English at five years of age and has good spoken and written competencies in the language. In the recorded conversation itself, she says that she first acquired isiZulu, then Afrikaans and she then went on to learn English and isiXhosa. She went to an English high school and eventually wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she speaks isiZulu at home, English “everywhere” and isiXhosa “everywhere.”

Anele is 24 years old from Nyanga in Cape Town and regards isiXhosa as her L1. She states that she began learning English at 11 years of age and has good spoken and written abilities in the language. After listening to her converse in English, it is evident that Anele is not as fluent and comfortable as her conversational counterpart, Ntombi, when speaking the language. She went to an English high school and eventually wrote her matric exams in

¹⁷ The names in the text are pseudonyms, used in the interest of protecting the identities of all of the participants.

English. She notes that she speaks isiXhosa with family and friends, and English with friends and at school.

In Conversation 3, Anga was paired with Bulelwa. Anga is 18 years old from Goodwood in Cape Town and regards isiXhosa as her L1, as stated in the recorded conversation. She states that she began learning English at three or four years of age and has good speaking abilities in the language. What is interesting is that she regards her reading and writing abilities as stronger in English than in isiXhosa, even noting that her reading ability is better in Afrikaans than in isiXhosa. She became so proficient in English that she eventually went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she speaks both isiXhosa and English at home and, in the recorded conversation, says that she code-switches and code-mixes between isiXhosa and English.

Bulelwa is 19 years old from Langa in Cape Town and regards isiXhosa as her L1. She states that she began learning English at six years of age and, together with isiXhosa, has good understanding, speaking and reading abilities. What is interesting is that she regards her writing abilities as strongest in English, and equates her ability to write in isiXhosa with that of Afrikaans. She eventually became so proficient in English that she went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she speaks both isiXhosa and English at home although she agrees with Anga's (her conversational counterpart's) statements about code-switching and code-mixing between isiXhosa and English.

In Conversation 4, Melissa was paired with Celeste. Melissa is 19 years old from Paarl in the Boland and regards herself as fully bilingual in Afrikaans and English, with Afrikaans as her L1. At four to five years of age, she began learning English, and she eventually went to an Afrikaans/English high school (where both English and Afrikaans were used within the classroom) where she wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she uses both Afrikaans and English at home and with friends although she adds that she uses English at university.

Celeste is 20 years old from Stellenbosch in the Boland and is an L1 speaker of South African English seeing as she acquired English from birth. She regards her spoken and

written competencies in both English and Afrikaans as equally good. She went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she speaks English and German at home and with friends and that she uses Afrikaans at university and also with friends.

In Conversation 5, Mikayla was paired with Michelle. Mikayla is 19 years old from Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. She acquired Afrikaans as her L1 and began learning English at the age of eight. She regards her speaking abilities in both English and Afrikaans as equally good although she believes her reading and writing abilities are stronger in English than in Afrikaans. She went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she uses English “everywhere” and Afrikaans only at home.

Michelle is 18 years old from Claremont in Cape Town. She is an L1 speaker of South African English seeing as she acquired the language from birth. She went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She rates her understanding, reading and writing abilities in Afrikaans as average but she admits in the recording that she cannot speak it very well. She speaks English at home and at university whereas she notes that she sometimes spoke Afrikaans at school and at home.

In Conversation 6, Jade was paired with Danielle. Jade is 20 years old from Bergvliet in Cape Town. She acquired Afrikaans as her L1 and began learning English in Grade 1 (i.e. at seven years of age). She regards her speaking abilities in both English and Afrikaans as equally good although she believes her reading and writing abilities are stronger in English than in Afrikaans. She became so proficient in English that she went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she uses both English and Afrikaans at home, and with friends as well as having used it at high school.

Danielle is 21 years old from Beaufort West in the eastern part of the Western Cape. She acquired both English and Afrikaans simultaneously while she was growing up. She says that her mother spoke English to her and her father spoke Afrikaans to her and she was only allowed to reply in their respective languages. She regards all of her spoken and written abilities in both English and Afrikaans as equally good. She became proficient in

both languages but went to an Afrikaans high school where she eventually wrote her matric exams in Afrikaans. She notes that she uses English at home and at university.

In Conversation 7, Mercia was paired with Nomsa. Mercia is 18 years old from Kraaifontein in Cape Town. She acquired Afrikaans as her L1 and began learning English at the age of 11. She rates her understanding, speaking, reading and writing abilities of Afrikaans as “good” while her self-ratings in English are only “average” (apart from her understanding ability which she rates as “good”). She went to an Afrikaans high school and wrote her matric exams in Afrikaans. She notes that she uses English only at university and she uses Afrikaans at home, with friends and at university.

Nomsa is 21 years old from Port Alfred in the Eastern Cape. She acquired isiXhosa as her L1 and began learning English at the age of five. She rates all of her English abilities (understanding, speaking, reading and writing) as “good” whereas she gives herself the same rating for her understanding and speaking abilities in isiXhosa. Interestingly, she also rates her understanding and reading abilities in Afrikaans as “good”, which she attributes in the recording to her being in a predominantly Afrikaans environment (i.e. University, Residence, having Afrikaans friends) for the past three years. She went to an English high school and wrote her matric exams in English. She notes that she uses English at her residence and with friends, Afrikaans with her friends, and isiXhosa at home and with her friends.

4.3 Analytical procedure

The seven recordings were transcribed by the researcher. These transcriptions¹⁸ were then scrutinised for any features similar to those which were reported in the European ELF literature (see Chapter 2) and the literature on South African E-L2 varieties (see Chapter 3). Features were identified which seemed “strange” or “out of the ordinary” in relation to my own E-L1 grammatical intuitions. These were checked with other E-L1 speakers in the research context. In order to qualify for in-depth analysis, these “strange” features had to have occurred relatively regularly and with more than one speaker in the transcriptions. As

¹⁸ The transcriptions made for this study have not yet been reviewed and refined for entry into a corpus that can be distributed and made available for other research purposes.

will be explained in the following sections, features from both ELF and South African E-L2 varieties arose in the data for this study as well as some as yet unreported features.

4.4 ELF features in the data

4.4.1 Misunderstandings

The data suggest that, as in other ELF interactions, misunderstandings are likely to take place in South African ELF and that ELF speakers have specific strategies of collaboration to minimise confusion and enable the continuation of the discourse. As was mentioned in Section 2.6.4, Mauranen found at least three different ways in which ELF speakers could indicate their misunderstandings, namely direct questions, repetition or non-specific signalling.

4.4.1.1 Direct questions

The first strategy of ELF speakers is to ask specific questions in order to assure that they understand the meaning of (part of) an utterance. Melissa (Conv.4; A-L1)¹⁹ provides a good example of this, indicated in italics, in (97).

- (97) Interviewer: So tell me a bit about your your guys'... where do you
live, where do you come from? What, you know, a bit about
your background.
- Melissa: Um...I'm from Paarl. Um *what do mean what about our
background, what do you want to know?*

In this instance, Melissa is not quite sure as to what the researcher wants her to say so, to clear up her confusion, she asks the researcher specific and direct questions in order to receive adequate information to be able to continue the discussion in ELF. Another example is in Mikayla's (Conv. 5; A-L1) question, indicated in italics, in (98).

- (98) Interviewer: Um, so what types of movies do you guys like?

¹⁹ For ease of reference, each speaker's respective conversational number (as laid out in Section 4.2.2) and L1 will be given in brackets alongside her name.

Mikayla: I'm all for comedy.

Interviewer: Like slapstick stuff?

Mikayla: *What is slapstick?*

Interviewer: Like laughing at fart jokes.

Michelle: Like American typical American movies?

Interviewer: Ja.

Mikayla: I think I like things like that but...any comedy like general.

Here, Mikayla does not know the meaning of the word *slapstick* so she asks a direct and specific question for more information as to the meaning of the term. Both her conversational partner and the researcher provide semantic explanations of the term. However it seems as if these explanations are not adequate because, after hearing them, Mikayla says *I think I like things like that*. Her use of the utterance-initial clause *I think* may be interpreted as an indication that she is uncertain whether she has fully grasped the explanations provided for her by her conversational partners.

Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides another example of direct questioning, indicated in italics, in (99).

(99) Mandisa: Ja. Um a whole lot of people look at me and...OK well
now you can see I'm purely black, but um I had um-

Thandiwe: Hold on, hold on I wanna stop you there. *What does that mean?*

What is interesting here is that Thandiwe is not completely uncertain about the meaning of the phrase *purely black*; she just wants to hear Mandisa's interpretation of it. It could be argued that Thandiwe is indirectly showing her disagreement with or disapproval of Mandisa's use of the phrase by actually asking her what *purely black* means. This interpretation of disapproval is supported by the fact that Mandisa laughs, perhaps uncomfortably, after being asked about the meaning of the phrase.

The data suggest that, in order to clear up any misunderstandings, utterances do not necessarily have to take the form of specific questions which are asked by the hearer who has misunderstood the speaker. This hearer could also make use of indirect questions in the form of statements which trail off. The speaker who was misunderstood would then have to “fill in the blanks,” as it were, for the hearer in order to clear up any confusion. Once again, Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides a good example of this, indicated in italics, in (100).

(100) Mandisa: OK, now...stop you there... Um I had a conversation with
Professor Oosthuizen at (inaudible), and he actually mistaken
– he he he mistook me for you, and I was-

Thandiwe: *And Professor Oosthuizen is...I should know this*

In this example, rather than asking Mandisa *Who is Professor Oosthuizen?* Thandiwe utters the statement with utterance-final ellipsis but with no rising intonation. In addition, she signals her need for more information supra-segmentally by lengthening the vowel [I] in *is*. These would both be considered indirect requests to Mandisa for help.

4.4.1.2 Repetition

The second strategy Mauranen finds among ELF speakers who indicate misunderstanding, is for the ELF hearer to repeat the problematic item with or without rising intonation. This repetition without rising intonation is exemplified in Mandisa’s (Conv.1: Ts-L1) utterance, indicated in italics, in (101).

(101) Thandiwe: Um at some point you mentioned that um black people are
seen as the degraders or whatever the breaker-downers of
um, but it’s getting clear. Kofi Annan.

Mandisa: Hm?

Thandiwe: Kofi Annan.

Mandisa: *Kofi Annan.*

Thandiwe: He was the Secretary General of the UN. He's black.
Nelson Mandela. More familiar with him? He's black.

Martin Luther King? Black. Mohammed Ali, Oprah Winfrey, Black. See, Hitler? White.

In this example, Mandisa was not sure if she misheard what Thandiwe said at the end of her utterance which may have resulted in her misunderstanding. Mandisa requested a repetition from Thandiwe by means of the enquiring sound *Hm?* with rising intonation. Thandiwe understood this and repeated exactly what she had previously said. Mandisa then realises that she does not know the reference of *Kofi Annan*. Mandisa repeats Thandiwe's utterance without rising intonation which indicates to Thandiwe that Mandisa does not know to whom the name *Kofi Annan* refers. To clear up Mandisa's confusion, Thandiwe explains who Kofi Annan is (i.e. *He was the Secretary General of the UN*) and continues with the ELF discourse.

The third strategy Mauranen identifies for ELF speakers to indicate their misunderstanding is with non-specific signalling (see (4) in Section 2.6.4). The data for this study did not include instances of signalling.

4.4.1.3 Explicit confirmation checks

Mauranen further describes several ways in which ELF speakers prevent the occurrence of misunderstandings. The first is through the use of minimal or explicit confirmation checks. Mandisa (Conv.1: Ts-L1) provides an example of the former, indicated in italics, in (102)

(102) Mandisa: [...] I've been exposed to extremely rich environments, medium or whatever middle class and extremely poor. So I know when the service is supposed to be at a different level.

Thandiwe: OK.

Mandisa: *OK?* And from that experience, I felt that if they gonna treat me in that way at that point...you know I'm not willing to invest my money and time to go and study at such an institution.

In this example, Mandisa uses the minimal confirmation check *OK?* to check whether Thandiwe is still following her argument.

An example of an explicit confirmation check occurred as illustrated by Celeste's (Conv.4; E-L1) utterances in (103). In response to learning that lecturers use electronic devices to check assignments for plagiarism, she says:

(103) But you probably only do it on the higher levels, *am I right?*

Mauranen notes that this is a regular conversational strategy, yet she reports that it was used more often in ELF interactions than in L1 interactions because ELF interlocutors are highly aware of the precariousness of the negotiation of meaning in these ELF interactions. In this example, the explicit confirmation check *Am I right?* indicates that Celeste is checking for confirmation from the researcher. It could also be argued that *Am I right?*, in this case, could be a tag. This is because Celeste does not wait for a confirmatory or negative response from the researcher and simply carries on with her stretch of discourse.

4.4.1.4 Interactive repairs

The creation of interactive repairs is another way in which ELF speakers prevent misunderstandings (see Section 2.6.4). Mercia (Conv.7; A-L1) provides an example, indicated in italics, in the extract in (104) from her ELF interaction with Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1).

(104) Nomsa: Mm, now we going to be th- It's it's it's it's it's not uh fact.
It's just an ob- a subjective...

Mercia: *objective*

Nomsa: observation. Like in my community, take now like the
average black community. It's, it's something, it's it's too
common.

In this example, Mercia picks up from Nomsa's final part of her first utterance that Nomsa is having a problem finding/producing a word, either as a result of her not knowing which word to use, or her knowing which word to use but not knowing how to pronounce it.

Mercia interprets this as an indication that Nomsa needs her help. She assumes that Nomsa knows which word she wants to use but does not know how to pronounce it. She is able to make this assumption because Nomsa utters the first syllable, *ob-*, of the word. At this point it is not clear whether Nomsa was going to utter *observation* or *objective*. Seeing as Mercia now has this syllabic clue, she repairs interactively by using the word *objective*. However, it seems as if Nomsa stopped after the first syllable *ob-* to self-repair, either because she was uttering the incorrect word *objective*, or because she omitted an important adjective, *subjective* before uttering the word *observation*. Either way, Mercia's interactive repair was not the word that Nomsa was looking for and she does not acknowledge Mercia's interactive repair.

Nomsa's non-acknowledgement could be interpreted as an example of let it pass (see House's description in Section 2.6.1) although, in this instance, understanding is not the issue. Rather, Nomsa understands the word that Mercia suggested but did not acknowledge it because it was not the word she was looking for. Nomsa therefore lets the incorrect word pass.

4.4.1.5 Self-repairs

The third and final way of preventing misunderstandings is through the use of content or grammatical self-repairs (see Section 2.6.4). Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of self-repair of content, indicated in italics below, in (105) when she says (in reference to being on live television at a cricket game in Cape Town):

- (105) And then they and then they took someone out and then I put my poster up like that and then *the T- the camera* shot at me I was like [...] I'm on TV and then I (inaudible). It was so exciting. I couldn't and then some boy came running like that to come and join my camera.

In this example, Bulelwa begins to utter the acronym *TV* but she stops before completing the whole word and self-repairs by using the phrase *the camera*. An example of a self-repair on a grammatical level (indicated in italics) is when Mandisa (Conv.1: Ts-L1), mispronouncing the word she intends, says the following:

- (106) Because, if you think about it...um, from a student point of view...um,
when w- when students have racial fights they always, always try and *black*
I I I mean blame the black people.

In this example, Mandisa's production of *black* instead of *blame* could be a psycholinguistic parsing slip. *Black* and *blame* are both phonologically similar. Both terms were accessed in the mental lexicon but they were produced in the wrong order. Mandisa immediately realizes this and self-repairs by introducing the word that she meant to use, *blame*, with the clause *I mean*.

4.4.2 Third-person singular/plural verb marking

As was previously mentioned, Standard English requires a regular main verb to agree in person and number with the subject with which it is paired. The subject in this case can be a personal or demonstrative pronoun or noun phrase. With main, regular, present tense verbs in English, the agreement is indicated on the third-person singular form of the verb by the addition of the morpheme *-s*. An example from my data is in Thandiwe's (Conv.1; X-L1) utterance in (107).

- (107) Therefore, bottom line, this guy really *wins* in my books.

Here, the verb *win* has the third person singular morpheme *-s* added to it to agree in person and number with the noun phrase subject *this guy* with which it is paired.

What is interesting is that three out of the 14 ELF speakers in my data erratically omit the third-person morpheme *-s* of the verb. Anga (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of this in (108).

- (108) [...] and this woman *catch* them like that.

The Standard English form here would always mark the verb (*catch* in this case) for person and number by the addition of the third-person singular morpheme */-s/ [-es]*²⁰, resulting in the unmarked verb form *catches*. Anele (Conv.2; X-L1) provides another example (109).

- (109) But uh my mother *speak* Afrikaans.

²⁰ Note that in English, the third-person plural morpheme *[-s]* is pronounced differently (and therefore spelt differently). For example, */-s/* can be pronounced *[s]* as in *cats*, *[z]* as in *dogs* or *[əz]* as in *judges*.

As with Anga's example in (108), in Standard English, the verb *speak* would be marked for person and number by the addition of the third-person singular morpheme *-s*, resulting in the unmarked verb form, *speaks*. However, both of these speakers are using ELF and clearly the concord rule that determines the verb form of the third-person singular is either not well formed in the ELF grammars these speakers have, or in ELF this is not an obligatory rule. Their non-use of *-s* on the third-person verb form does not hinder their communication as in both (108) and (109) each hearer understands what the respective speaker has said. This is in accordance with what Breiteneder (2005) finds, in that both of these speakers know the third-person *-s* rule because at times they use it in accordance with Standard English norms.

Celeste (Conv.4; E-L1), in one instance, also used zero-marking with a third-person singular present tense main English verb. This is exemplified in (110) when she said (in reference to a subject at Stellenbosch University):

(110) [...] it's technical it *focus* on the technical aspects of English.

Here, instead of *focus* one would have expected *focuses* (according to the norms of Standard English) in order to agree in number and person with the pronoun *it*. Such use of zero-marking by an L1 speaker may be attributed to the fact that Celeste was speaking very fast and she used the unmarked form for ease of pronunciation or flow of speech. It is not unusual for L1 speakers to produce utterances that are out of line with their competence; if one were to present the speaker in (110) with this utterance in a post-recording interview, she would most likely have recognised the "error" and have corrected herself.

The data contained no instances of *-s* overgeneralizations with past tense verbs, as was reported by Breiteneder (2005) (see Section 2.6.5). However, there are instances of *-s* overgeneralizations with verbs which have plural subjects. In three cases Danielle (Conv.6; A-L1) uses the singular *-s* marker with a plural verb, as in (111).

(111) [...] there's so many students I know that *plays* rugby that *studies* B.Rek
B.Accounting and all those things.

Here, the verbs *plays* and *studies* both have the overgeneralised *-s* morpheme, even though the subject to which both verbs refer (i.e. *students*) is plural.

The data contains two instances in which the singular demonstrative pronoun *that* is used to refer to a plural object. Anga (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example in (112) when she says (in reference to the small-sized shoes made by fashion designers):

(112) [...] *That's* the sizes they make.

In (112), Anga uses the singular demonstrative pronoun *that* to refer to the plural object *sizes* which, according to Standard English norms, is ungrammatical. Her utterance immediately after this one is:

(113) And then they have to walk in *that* as if they have no pain.

This is another example where, once again, a singular demonstrative pronoun (*that*) is used to refer to a plural object (*shoes*).

The data reveals that *there's* (a contraction of *there* and *is*) is used to refer to both singular and plural subjects or objects. Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of this in (114).

(114) *There's* twins who are actually like that.

According to the rules of Standard English, "*there's*" should actually be "*there are*" because the pronoun is co-referent to the plural subject *twins*. This contraction could be a case of sound simplification for ease of pronunciation or consonant-cluster reduction. *There are* was contracted to *there're* [DE:ˈəː] which is difficult to pronounce, so speakers substitute the syllable-final, contracted *are*-form, *'re*, with the contraction of *is*. This use of *there's* also occurs in Michelle's (Conv.5; E-L1) speech as is evident in (115).

(115) Suddenly the story's starting and *there's* no characters.

She is an L1 speaker of English, which leads to the speculation that this could be a feature not only of ELF but also of South African varieties of L1 English.

Similarly, the data suggest that *it's* (a contraction of *it* and *is*) is being used by ELF speakers to refer to either the present tense or past tense form of the copula *be*. In other words, *'s* can be a contraction of *is* or *was*. Anga (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of this in (116) when she says, in reference to a street festival that took place in Cape Town:

(116) *It's* the first time like Cape Town police let public drinking.

Here, one can deduce that her use of *it's* is a contraction of *It was* because the street festival to which the pronoun *it* refers has already happened. Once again, this use of *it's* was found in Michelle's (Conv.5; E-L1) speech when she says, in reference to the TV series *Grey's Anatomy*,

(117) Okay well maybe Season Five. I don't know. The one where everyone started dying and they started taking characters out. I started thinking, uh-uh. Like *it's* too much, it just [...].

The fact that this use of *it's* occurs in Michelle's speech allows one to speculate that this may be a feature of South African varieties of English and not only ELF. This use of *there's* and *it's* did not hinder the ELF communication or cause confusion for the respective hearers.

4.4.3 Discursive features of ELF

4.4.3.1 Represents and back-channels

In accordance with the findings in Meierkord (2000), represents were a frequent feature in the data for this study. Anele (Conv.2; X-L1) specifically made frequent use of this conversational strategy, as is exemplified in italics in (118).

(118) Ntombi: [...] Like he mentions here, he says, um "soon they will be calling a black woman boss"

Anele: *a boss.*

As was previously mentioned, Anele was not as fluent or comfortable speaking in English as her conversational counterpart, Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1), was. When the researcher tried to elicit utterances from her, her responding turns would be relatively short. With this in mind, a probable explanation for her frequent use of represents is that she repeats certain parts of Ntombi's utterances in order to make it seem as if she is contributing more to the conversation. Anele's frequent use of represents could also be an indication to the researcher (and Ntombi) that she hears and understands what Ntombi says (as reported in House (2002: 253)).

With regard to supportive back-channels in the data, every single participant made use of this conversational strategy at some point in their respective conversations. In addition to *mhm*, *right*, *yeah* (or *ja*, in this case) and *uh huh* reported by Meierkord, the data suggest that *I know*, *exactly* and *I hear you* may also be used as back-channels as is exemplified by Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) in (119) and (121), and Mandisa (Conv.1; Ts-L1) in (120).

(119) Michelle: [mosquitoes in China are] silent. They don't make that
mmmmm noise. They just bite you and you can't hear them.

Interviewer: That's the freakiest thing I've ever heard.

Mikayla: *I know*.

(120) Thandiwe: [...] this guy is saying this is not acceptable, not in a country
that we're trying to build. Not in the era that we're at. Not in
the phase of growth that we at, this is not it.

Mandisa: *I hear you*.

(121) Mikayla: But that's how you meet new people, you know?

Michelle: Exactly, you know that's the normal way of thinking so it's
like-

Mikayla: *Exactly*.

4.4.3.2 Explicit self-doubt of ELF proficiency

Another interesting phenomenon is that certain ELF participants in this study explicitly doubt the formulation of some of their ELF utterances. Three of the participants, namely Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1), Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) and Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) produced utterances explicitly stating their doubts about their own use of ELF in specific instances. Only the first two examples will be explained in this section. Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides an example of explicit self-doubt in (122).

- (122) I think we were doing motivation, and we had gotten a case study about um four students who have just been accepted into U- into um Stellenbosch and it describes each one's background um and how they were all fighting for a social socially acceptable place *if I put that right?*

In this example, Thandiwe indicates her uneasiness with her explanation by using the phrase *if I put that right?* with rising intonation. Her unease is further supported by the fact that she grammatically self-repairs (*social socially acceptable place*) before producing her explicitly doubtful utterance-final question. This doubting question was not interpreted as a request for help because she did not wait for her conversational partner to provide a response before continuing her turn. Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) provides a second example in (123).

- (123) I I wanna say something but, I I've got all the words in my head but now I can't put it together nicely.

Here, Nomsa does not doubt the utterance that she has already produced. Rather, she doubts the formulation of an utterance that she is planning. In other words, she is in doubt about her own proficiency in ELF; she is not certain that she is able to produce an utterance that expresses exactly what she means.

4.4.3.3 Thinking aloud

The third discursive feature found to mark ELF is what I call "thinking aloud." The data suggest that some of the ELF interlocutors voice their thoughts and concerns when they have trouble trying to find the correct word or phrase. The first function of thinking aloud is as a strategy to give the speaker more time to find the correct word or phrase without doing so in a silence-filled gap. In other words, thinking aloud may function as a filler even though it consists of utterances that are longer than a single word. Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides an example of this in (124).

- (124) [...] and what do you think then their acceptance I don't know other um um um *what is the word*—um criteria is?

Here, it is evident that Thandiwe is having trouble finding the word she wants to use because she makes use of the filler *um* three times to give her a bit of time to think.

However, she still cannot find the correct word so she thinks aloud by saying *What is the word?* together with another *um*. Only after this final filled pause does she find the correct word she wants to use, *criteria*.

In addition to functioning as a filler, the data suggest that thinking aloud may be used by the speaker as an indirect invitation to the hearer to offer assistance or repair. Danielle (Conv.6; A-L1) provides an example of thinking aloud with this function in (125).

(125) Danielle: There's this other word, *what's the word's name?* Almost
like, isn't atheistic.

Interviewer: Agnostic?

In this example, Danielle begins her utterance by indicating that she is looking for a specific word after which she thinks aloud by saying *what's the word's name?*. She then gives a description of the word but stops mid-utterance (*almost like*) and self-repairs with a clue as to what the word is not (*isn't atheistic*). The researcher interprets this as a request for help and makes an interactive repair by uttering the word she is looking for (*agnostic*).

4.4.4 Instances of code-switching and code-mixing

As was previously mentioned, Wardhaugh (2006: 101) states that code-mixing may occur intersententially or intrasententially in a single speaker's turn. In addition, Muysken (2000) puts forward three types of intrasentential code-mixing strategies. The first is alternation where the two languages which occur in a sentence remain somewhat separate. The second strategy is that of insertion, where lexical items from one language are inserted into the structure of another. The third strategy is that of congruent lexicalization, where two languages sharing a grammatical structure can be filled lexically with elements from either language (Muysken 2000: 122).

The data for this study showed code-switching and code-mixing of this nature. The ELF speakers inserted words, word-parts and clauses from their L1 or from other South African languages in conversations conducted in ELF, the matrix language. In the data, these parts range from whole words to relatively long utterances. Furthermore, mostly Afrikaans

words and phrases were inserted, although there are a number of instances of code-switching and –mixing where isiXhosa is the embedded language.

To explain a particularly prominent set of inserted Afrikaans words in the corpus I have constructed, one needs to know how social structures among the groups of participants are organised. Students at Stellenbosch University are, to a large extent, socially organised according to their places of residence. Those who stay in student residences belong to that residence's group. Those who stay in non-campus affiliated flats or “digs,” or still live at home with their parents, belong to various Private Student Organizations (PSOs). The aim of these PSOs is to provide the day students with the same opportunities and structures with regard to sport, social and cultural activities as those students who stay in the residences. Because the University is a historically Afrikaans-speaking university, these residences and organisations have their own Afrikaans terms for campus-related activities and institutions. Below is a list of terms, including acronyms, widely used in this context and which also occurred in the data.

HK [ha:ka]: An acronym for *huiskomitee* (literally *house committee*) which refers to an elected committee of senior students in the residences at the University.

Humarga [hymʌrxʌ]: An acronym for ***Humanities Rekenaar Gebruikers Area*** (literally *Humanities computer-users area*). This is a specific area in the Arts and Social Sciences building at Stellenbosch University where students can go to use the computers for internet research and typing of tasks and assignments.

Kat se graf [kʌt sə xrʌf]: Literally meaning *cat's grave*, this is a traditional day of mourning at Harmonie, one of the residences at Stellenbosch University.

Akkerilla [ʌkərələ]: A name given to another traditional day of mourning at Harmonie, for an enormous fallen oak tree. *Akker* means

acorn in Afrikaans and the morpheme *–illa* is from *Godzilla*, emphasizing how large the tree is.

Jool [juəl]: Literally meaning *frolic*, *fun* or *jollification*, this refers to the annual week-long Rag festival organized by Stellenbosch University to raise funds for charity.

skakeling [skəkələn]: Literally meaning *meeting*, this is when various residences engage in planned social activities together.

sêr [sær]: From *massasêr* meaning *mass serenade*. This is a competitive event during Jool in which each residence has to create and perform a short choral or smaller vocal production. The winners go on to the national *sêr* competition.

huisdans [hoəsðans]: Literally meaning *house dance*, this is when each residence hosts their own formal fundraising event.

Even non-L1 speakers of Afrikaans who are studying at the University soon get to know what each term means and refers to if they were to be asked. This is reflected in the data when Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) produces the utterances in (126).

(126) We had a *huisdans*. You know how people are over *huisdans* here.

Here, she inserts the Afrikaans lexical item *huisdans* into her ELF utterance. Her conversational participants have no problem in understanding to what she is referring. Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) provides another example in (127).

(127) I knew absolutely nothing and then *Jool* came and it was like scary [...].

This is an example of an L1 speaker of Afrikaans inserting an Afrikaans lexical item (*Jool*) into her ELF utterance. This type of code-mixing with situation-specific vocabulary occurred quite often in the data.

There are many instances of Afrikaans word use which are not university-related in the ELF data. For example, *lekker*, *skinder*, *jis*, *gees*, *jinne*. Some of these are established

loanwords and do occur very frequently in the language of ELF as well as E-L1 speakers (e.g. *lekker, jinne, jis*). Mandisa (Conv.1; Ts-L1) provides an example of this, indicated in italics, in (128).

(128) Mandisa: Um the the one is doing science, medical sciences or something like that. Um the other one is doing, what is it called? She's majoring in Industrial Psychology if I'm not mistaken. The other one is doing IT. Another one is doing um...what is it called? It's also some medical thing to do with um... what is it now. I can't remember the name of the programme, but they focus on um...

Thandiwe: OT, physio, speech?

Mandisa: Ooh *jinne*, no.

Here, she inserts the Afrikaans interjection *jinne* (the English equivalent of *goodness!*) into her ELF utterance. Some of these Afrikaans lexical items, however, are not established loans (e.g. *gees, skinder*) and these would then be considered instances of intrasentential code-mixing. Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) exemplifies this in (129) where she has no problem inserting the Afrikaans lexical item *gees* (meaning *spirit*) into her ELF utterance.

(129) [...] but in the end we won um the first prize for *gees*.

Three instances of intrasentential alternation between isiXhosa and ELF occurred in Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) and Anele's (Conv.2; X-L1) ELF conversation. These were utterances of reported speech where the utterances begin in ELF, with English introductory phrases (e.g. *I'm like, she said*) and the alternated reported utterances are in another language. Both Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) and Anele (Conv.2; X-L1) are completely fluent in isiXhosa (although Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) is isiZulu L1). The first example is in Ntombi's (Conv.2; Z-L1) utterance in (130).

(130) I like being active I'm a very always liking movement and like – the bigger you get you know that you you get restricted in how you move and where you move to where you go into because of the size of your body and they

used to tell me like “*Hayi, tona twenty-one vele uzak’bamkhulu!*” [= Ah, when you turn twenty-one, obviously you are going to be fat]

Here, the matrix language in Ntombi’s utterance is English but when she reports what her family used to say to her she alternates intrasententially with isiXhosa, the result of which makes Anele laugh. In terms of Klimpfinger’s (2007) (see Section 2.6.7) reasons for code-switching and code-mixing in ELF, the most probable motive would be to indicate Ntombi’s specific linguistic identity and group membership (Klimpfinger 2007: 54). Because she refers to her family and her home environment, an even stronger cultural association is provided (Klimpfinger 2007: 55). The fact that Anele laughs at Ntombi’s isiXhosa utterance in (130) indicates that she understands what has been said. Because Ntombi knows that Anele speaks isiXhosa, it is more likely that Ntombi switched from ELF into isiXhosa to create a linguistic bond and cultural group identity between them. This bond is all the more evident due to the fact that the researcher has to ask for an English translation of the isiXhosa utterance in order to understand and be “on the same page” as the isiXhosa L1 speakers. This instance of code-switching could also be classified as a means for Ntombi to direct her speech to Anele and exclude a third participant, the researcher in this case. This example of code-switching would not be classed as a signal for assistance from Anele seeing as Ntombi did not specifically ask Anele a question in isiXhosa. Furthermore, after being asked for an English translation, Ntombi adequately explains in ELF what her isiXhosa utterance means. With regard to Ntombi’s other two instances of intrasentential alternation, the reason of the creation of a linguistic bond and cultural group identity would also be applicable.

Klimpfinger (2007: 57) mentions that one reason for code-switching in ELF is that the ELF speaker feels better equipped to express an idea in his/her L1. The data for this study suggest that this can also be applied to cases of code-*mixing* in ELF as exemplified in Jade’s (Conv.6; A-L1) utterance in (131).

(131) But I think also because Stellenbosch is known for being sp- sporty or like a *kuierplek* it’ll be hard to move away from it,

Here, it is evident that Jade feels that the Afrikaans lexical item *kuiersplek* best expresses the meaning that she wants to convey (i.e. a place to party). There is no single English equivalent for the term *kuiersplek* and finding one may have required her to pause and think of one. Instead, she opted to use the Afrikaans lexical item *kuiersplek* possibly to save time and to convey the exact meaning she wanted.

The data revealed no instances of code-switching as a signal for help from the respective interlocutors. However, there was one instance (in (132) below) where Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) used the Afrikaans tag *né* in her ELF utterance.

(132) My my friend is like she's she doesn't speak Xhosa, *né*?

What is interesting is that Bulelwa takes this tag, which is now a standard feature of isiXhosa, and uses it in her ELF utterance. In addition, the isiXhosa discourse marker and exclamation *Yoh!* was used quite often in Bulelwa's ELF speech as well as some of the other isiXhosa first-language speakers' ELF speech (see Section 5.4.6 for a discussion on this discourse marker). The reasons for the uses of these tag-switches may be, once again, to indicate the speakers' specific linguistic identities and group memberships.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the methodology and analytical procedure for this study were laid out. The language profiles of every participant who took part in the data collection for this study were described. Then, an analysis of the data was done in terms of the features reported in the European ELF literature. The following chapter gives an analysis of pertinent grammatical and discursive features of the data for this study where there appears to be overlap between features identified as typical of ELF and ones identified as typical of E-L2 varieties.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: ELF AND ENGLISH L2 OVERLAP

5.1 Introduction

As is regularly the case with language varieties in contact situations, it is predictable that the dominant language will in one way or another have phonological, morphological, lexical, semantic and syntactic effects on the minority language. It is even possible that the dominant language will absorb features of the contact languages with lesser statuses. This is well-illustrated in South Africa where speakers of different E-L2 varieties (as discussed in Chapter 3) are in daily contact with each other. Contact between these E-L2 speech communities assures that features of the various E-L2 varieties are easily transferred, so that what started out as, for example, a typical CFE feature may occur in the use of BSAE and in AfrE, thus occurring as a feature of South African ELF. This study is interested in such shared E-L2 features in South Africa. The data analysis given in this chapter will indicate how some of the features reported in studies discussed in Chapter 3 occur among speakers of different L1 backgrounds who use E-L2. A systematic and conclusive investigation as to what would distinguish E-L2 varieties from ELF in South Africa is a subject for another study. Here I shall give pointers from the small corpus that I collected. Section 5.5 in this chapter provides a brief description of some of the reported features of BSAE, CFE and AfrE that frequently occurred in the ELF data for this study. It seems that there is some overlap in the features identified by various scholars as ELF or as E-L2. Such overlap will be given brief attention in Sections 5.2 to 5.6.

5.2 AUX-drop

In her study of English and Afrikaans in District Six, a Coloured community in the Western Cape province of South Africa, McCormick (1989: 293) reports that tense, modal and aspectual auxiliaries (AUX) are often deleted. She provides the examples of *are*, *will*, *would*, *has* and *have* being deleted in the English used by the inhabitants of District Six. However, she reported that adult speakers in this area do not delete *am*, and that *is* is

frequently contracted but never deleted. Similarly, Gough (in de Klerk 1996: 62) reported that AUX-dropping was a feature of BSAE.

These AUX-drops are recognised features of BSAE and CFE as is also reported by Malan (in de Klerk 1996: 136). However, the data for this study suggest that this phenomenon is more widespread in the Western Cape, and possibly South Africa, than it was reported to be in earlier studies. Every single ELF interlocutor who took part in this study, no matter from which L1 community, dropped certain auxiliaries in her utterances. The most common AUX-drop in my data was the deletion of the copula *are*. Every one of the participants in my corpus produced utterances with this feature. Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of this (where the AUX-drop is indicated by the symbol Ø) in (133).

(133) They look like they Ø going out.

The data also indicate that all the participants in this study know the standard rule for use of AUX-*are*. All of the interlocutors produced utterances where the AUX-*are* was inserted. In another utterance, Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) uses AUX-*are* according to the Standard English rule in (134).

(134) They *are* supposed to let you in but I didn't know they were racist there.

The other auxiliaries that were dropped by a few of the ELF participants at some points in their respective conversations were (in descending order of frequency) *were*, *would*, *had* and *have*. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) provides an example of AUX-*were* drop in her utterance in (135).

(135) I actually know this girl she dated this guy for five years, I mean she's nineteen now and she dated him for five years and she was with a lot of other guys and we Ø like "Why don't you just break up with this guy and date whoever?"

The fact that Mikayla uses the past tense in her utterance means that, according to Standard English rules, one would expect the past tense to be continued throughout. One can therefore deduce that the AUX-drop involved here is of the item *were*. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) proves that she knows the rule for use of AUX-*were* because she produces the utterance in (136) with the Standard English insertion of AUX-*were*.

- (136) We *were* all gonna go to the TV room watch it and then I ran away, I was like, no, I can't.

Mikayla is from Port Elizabeth which allows one to speculate that this AUX-drop feature may not be specific to the Western Cape. This pattern of AUX-drop in certain utterances in ELF and its insertion in accordance with Standard English rules in others (thus erratic application of the rule) is the same with the AUXs *would*, *had* and *have*.

It is interesting to note that participants in the study often self-repair where use of the AUX is required. This is evident in Danielle's (Conv.6; A-L1) utterance in (137).

- (137) We *very conserv-* we are very *conservative* and do all the ladylike things [...]

In this example, she stops in the middle of uttering the word *conservative* and self-repairs to include the AUX-*are*. In contrast, Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) self-repairs to AUX-drop as is exemplified in (138).

- (138) [...] and to me it's always been like a case of you know your your white master reminding you that once again *you're like you you* dispowered, you have no power whatsoever.

Here, she actually utters the contraction *you're* (*you* and *are*) yet self-repairs after the discourse marker *like* to introduce the self-repaired phrase containing the AUX-drop (*you dispowered*).

A possible reason for AUX-drop in ELF is that it is a feature of language contact. It is possible that non-L1 English speakers hear E-L1 speakers AUX-dropping, perhaps for ease of pronunciation or simply because it does not carry emphasis and so becomes weak, and they incorporate this into their ELF speech. In the Western Cape many Afrikaans L1 speakers in the coloured community have recently decided to raise their children in English, i.e. in the parents' L2. This variety therefore becomes their children's L1. If AUX-drop is a regular feature in the parents' CFE it is passed on to the next generation. Even though the children are likely to be taught the Standard English rules for use of auxiliaries at school, this does not necessarily mean that they will incorporate them into their varieties of English.

5.3 Marked word orders – grammatical vs. ungrammatical

It is well-known that natural spoken language is not fluent in that, amongst other things, the speaker often makes use of pauses (silent or filled) to reflect, before continuing. This gives natural spoken language a certain halting quality. Furthermore, speakers produce language that, for various reasons (many extra-linguistic), is ungrammatical in that it contains content errors, slips of the tongue and repetition of lexical elements or longer phrases. Natural spoken language is extremely rarely perfectly well-formed. However, such language performance does not mean that a speaker's language competence is flawed. With regard to word order in natural spoken language, speakers (for example) omit certain important bits of information in the process of producing utterances which, only after completion of the utterance and immediate reflection on what has just been said, are included as afterthoughts. Once again, this does not mean that the speaker's linguistic competence is flawed. The data for this study indicate that natural spoken ELF is also halting and that marked (thus irregular), idiosyncratic ELF word orders are a frequent occurrence.

In addition to alternation and insertion, Muysken (2000) also named congruent lexicalization²¹ as a code-mixing strategy. This refers to code-mixing between two languages which have similar grammatical structures, which allows lexical items and grammatical elements from either language to be used in "gaps" for e.g. nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. Interestingly, some of the participants in this study, from time to time, transfer certain Afrikaans items into their ELF utterances (see items in italics in (139), (140) and (141) below) which sometimes result in these utterances being marked for word order. Danielle (Conv.6; A-L1) provides an example of this in (139).

(139) I only felt that *the Sunday*.

The Afrikaans equivalent of this utterance would be *Ek het dit eers die Sondag gevoel*. Here, it is evident that Danielle (Conv.6; A-L1) knows Afrikaans (an SOV language) and English (an SVO language). Her placement of the verb *felt* is in accordance with the

²¹ Although this is a phenomenon reported in code-mixing, it may also be used to explain utterances which are marked for word-order as will be discussed in this section.

structural rules of Standard English. However her placement of *the Sunday* is in accordance with the structural rules of Standard Afrikaans. What follows the verb in the ELF utterance is the determiner phrase *the Sunday*, where in this case (in accordance with the rules of Standard English) the verb should be followed by a prepositional phrase e.g. *on the Sunday*. Thus it appears that word-order rules of the two languages are both accessed and applied in the production of ELF.

Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) provides another example of an Afrikaans structure within an ELF utterance in (140).

- (140) I think [...] *there exists* so so many different different body shapes and body types and ethnic- and ethnicities that it's it's it flavours or like how people see [...].

The Afrikaans equivalent would be *Ek dink [...] daar bestaan soveel verskillende liggaamsvorme en -tipes en etnisiteite dat dit [...]*. In this instance, the structures of the ELF utterance and its Afrikaans equivalent are exactly the same. However, Standard English rules are such that *there exists* is not an acceptable clause in English. This clause would be considered a direct transfer from Afrikaans into English, which explains the markedness of the ELF word order in this case. Standard English word-order rules would produce: *I think [...] so many different body shapes and body types and ethnicities exist [...]*.

What is interesting is that Ntombi actually mentioned in her conversation that she grew up under a great deal of Afrikaans influence and that Afrikaans was the first language that she learnt to write (as opposed to isiZulu, her L1, or English, the medium of instruction in most South African schools). This supports the hypothesis that language contact in a multilingual context accounts for the use of rules from various languages, regardless of the particular L1 of a speaker, in ELF.

A third example of marked word order in ELF occurs in Mercia's (Conv.7; A-L1) utterance in (141).

- (141) So *we were only two* that came to study [...].

This utterance follows the word order of the Afrikaans equivalent *So ons was net twee wat kom studeer het*. In this instance, Mercia (as with Danielle's example in (139)) knows

Afrikaans (an SOV language) and English (an SVO language). The final clause of (141), the verb + infinitive structure of the relative clause with adjectival function *that came to study*, complies with Standard English rules. However, the opening clause exhibits a direct transfer of the Afrikaans clausal phrase *ons was net twee* in this ELF utterance. A Standard English rendering would have been either one of those in (142) or (143).

(142) There were only two of us that came to study....

(143) Only two of us came to study.

5.4 The use of discourse markers

Discourse markers are “sequentially dependent elements which demarcate units of speech, such as *oh*, *well*, and *I mean*.” (Crystal 2008: 148). In natural language seemingly random discourse makers are often used with a variety of functions, and ELF is no exception. Participants in this study used discourse markers very often. This differs from the ELF conversations in House’s (2002) study where there was remarkably infrequent use of discourse markers. The discourse markers that featured most frequently in my data were (in descending order of frequency): *like*, *you know*, *I mean*, *I don’t know*, *sort of*, *kind of* and *yoh!*.

5.4.1 *Like*

In Standard English, *like* is an ambiguous and multifunctional word, as is illustrated in (144) to (146):

(144) Peter does not *like* vegetables. (verb = “have an appetite for”)

(145) Peter does not *like* it when you come late. (verb = “find acceptable”)

(146) Peter looks a lot *like* his mother. (preposition = “similar to”)

Like can function as a preposition, conjunction, noun, verb, or adjective in formal Standard English, and an adverb in informal Standard English. These functions are illustrated in (147) to (152) respectively.

(147) It’s not *like* him to fail an exam

(148) I felt *like* I was getting a cold.

(149) We went shopping for roses and tulips and the *like*.

(150) She *likes* to eat all the things that are bad for her.

(151) You are so *like* your sister.

(152) We worked *like* crazy to get the job done.

Recently recorded informal uses of *like*, as in (153) and (154) below, have been the topic of specific investigation (see Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1990). In ELF a similar variety of functions for *like* have been noted.

(153) I was *like* “I can’t do this.”

(154) We *like* used to go there all the time.

The data for this study exhibit similar informal uses of *like* as in (155) where Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) uses it to mean *for example*.

(155) I don’t have a lot of family here but if I go to *like* Joburg or something [...].

In this case, if one were to replace *like* with *for example*, the meaning of this utterance would not change. Interestingly, both Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) and Michelle (Conv.5; E-L1) sometimes, tautologically, use *like* and *for example* together, as illustrated in their respective examples in (156) and (157).

(156) *Like* take me *for example*. I came here not knowing anything about the university.

(157) But *like for example*, we pre-salt our foods.

There are also instances of *like* taking on the meaning of *because*. This is evident in Ntombi’s (Conv.2; Z-L1) utterances in (158) and (159).

(158) I can’t say “You fat” now, can I? *Like* you’ve already said it.

(159) I didn’t speak English so I couldn’t converse with other people *like* other kids were speaking English where I came from.

In both of these examples, one would be able to replace *like* with *because* and the meaning of the sentences would not change.

As in natural speech of E-L1 speakers, *like* is also used by ELF speakers as a quotative. Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang (1990: 225) define this as “a term which is used to refer to any verb or expression which introduces any reported speech, either direct or inner monologue.” *Like* takes on the meaning of *thought* or *said*. There are many examples of *like* as a quotative in every one of the seven conversations recorded for this study. An example of *like* introducing direct monologue is in Mandisa’s (Conv.1; Ts-L1) utterance in (160) and Bulelwa’s (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (161).

(160) I was *like* “Excuse me!” in their own language.

(161) I was *like* “What are you doing?”

Celeste (Conv.4; E-L1) provides an example of *like* introducing inner monologue in (162).

(162) It’s *like* “Mmm, OK.”

Like may also be used to introduce a repetition for emphasis as in Bulelwa’s (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (163) and Ntombi’s (Conv.2; Z-L1) utterance in (164).

(163) The kids stay with us all the time [...] because she’s never in the country, *like* never ever.

(164) I had a friend last year who was obsessed with getting thin, *like* obsessed.

Like is also used to introduce an elaboration as is exemplified in Anga’s (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (165).

(165) I found it hard to adjust in the Black community because I was a stick, *like* literally skeleton.

Here, *like* is used to introduce the elaboration *literally skeleton*. Melissa (Conv.4; A-L1) also provides an example of this in (166).

(166) I know in English, they tried to get us to do it, *like* formulate your own opinion.

Here, Melissa feels that using the pronoun *it* is not enough to get her meaning across so that her conversational partner will understand what she is saying. Therefore, she uses *like* as an introduction to the elaboration *formulate your own opinion*.

Like may also be used to introduce a self-repair as is evident in Bulelwa's (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (167).

(167) You know these American *like* African-American dances dance styles?

Here, she utters *American* first then self-repairs using *like* and then produces the term she meant to use, *African-American*. Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) also provides an example of this in (168).

(168) Sometimes if you don't have the academic *like* the paper, they don't you know it's sort of hard to get through to get funding for projects.

Here, Ntombi utters *academic*, realises this is not the word she wants to use to continue the utterance, and uses *like* to introduce the repair *the paper*.

Like is also used as a means of introducing ellipsis²². For example, after quite a lengthy stretch of discourse, Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) finishes her turn with the utterance in (169).

(169) And it was just *like* [...].

With regard to Crystal's definition in the footnote below, this instance of ellipsis may be Jade's style of ELF and may not be attributed either to reasons of economy (seeing as this is quite a long stretch of discourse) or emphasis (because the pronoun *it* in this utterance does not specifically refer to any one thing).

5.4.2 *You know*

In Standard English *you know* is a phrase that often functions as a filler. This is no different in ELF. There are many instances in the data of this study where *you know* is used in this way. Linguists have speculated about the reasons as to why *you know* is used in this way, the most popular reason being that it gives the speaker time to formulate what he/she is going to say next, or to find the right word without doing so in a silence-filled gap. Examples of *you know* used with this function are in Thandiwe's (Conv.1; X-L1) and Michelle's (Conv.5; E-L1) respective utterances in (170) and (171).

²² Crystal (2008: 166) defines ellipsis as "a term used in grammatical analysis to refer to a sentence where, for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, a part of the structure has been omitted, which is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context."

(170) But that's not gonna explain why it's so, *you know*, deep for him.

(171) Cause we've been taught from such a young age, *you know*, you don't do this, you don't do that, drugs are bad, blah blah blah.

You know also co-occurs with other fillers giving the speaker even more time to find the right word or phrase. Celeste (Conv.4; E-L1) provides an example of this in her utterance in (172).

(172) Well, I mean, *you know*, I mean yo- I was older maybe in the younger grades, I don't know.

Here, she produces another three discourse markers (*well* and *I mean* (used twice)) before she carries on with her utterance. There are many instances in which Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) uses *you know* together with *like* (either directly adjacent and in any order, or even repetitively). An example of her use of *you know* immediately before *like* is in (173).

(173) And I'm short, *you know*, like I'm not that height, you know.

In this study *you know* seems to be used by the speaker as a minimal confirmation check to make sure the hearer is following and understanding what she has said (see Sections 2.6.4 and 4.3.1.3 for more on confirmation checks). This phrase may be an abbreviated version of the more complete and explicit (in terms of checking for understanding) phrase *Do you know what I mean?*. This use of *you know* with this specific function normally occurs utterance-finally with rising intonation and it usually requires a response from the hearer. Mercia (Conv.7; A-L1) provides an example, as indicated in italics, in (174).

(174) Interviewer: A- But you still find there's a bit too much English?

Mercia: But I'm starting to um get adapted to it.

Interviewer: Okay.

Mercia: My English and and I think I must um this will help me in the near future, *you know?*

Interviewer: Ja. Ja. [...]

You know is also used in self-repair as in Jade's (Conv.6; A-L1) example in (175).

- (175) Like check if he's speaking to someone else, if they, *you know*, if they making friends.

This use of *you know* could also be categorized as a filler to give her time to formulate her utterance.

The data also suggest that *you know* is used to introduce an elaboration of an utterance, or a synonymic word/phrase addition. An example of *you know* introducing an elaboration is in Melissa's (Conv. 4; A-L1) utterance in (176).

- (176) [...] when I saw the slides, *you know*, at the introduction thing and then I didn't take it.

In this instance Melissa could have just said *when I saw the slides* but, in order to be as clear as possible in the most efficient way, she uses *you know* to introduce an elaboration of her utterance. It is possible that this use of *you know* is multifunctional, giving not only an introduction to the elaboration, but also giving the speaker more time to find the right words. An example of *you know* introducing a synonymic word/phrase is in Ntombi's (Conv.2; Z-L1) utterance in (177).

- (177) I understand sort of the rudimental, *you know*, the fundamental stuff of Afrikaans.

In this utterance, *you know* introduces *the fundamental*, a repair, giving the synonymic phrase of *the rudimentary stuff*.

You know may also be used before a continuation of an utterance. Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) provides an example of this in (178).

- (178) [...] the more insecure we are about who we are and how we look, *you know*, the better preys we are.

The data suggest that *you know* may also take on the meaning of *for example* as exemplified by Mandisa (Conv.1; Ts-L1) in (179).

- (179) [...] because i- if if I believe *you know* um global warming doesn't exist, if I see the signs I will still say, "But somebody's trying to trick me to believe

that it does exist,” simply because I have this firm belief within me. So whatever’s gonna happen’s not gonna change my viewpoint.

In this instance, *you know* may be substituted with *for example* and the meaning of the sentence will not change.

Often juxtaposed to *you know*, there are instances of lexical or phrasal repetition either immediately before or immediately after this discourse marker. In the data, the repeated phrase more frequently occurs after *you know*; there is only one instance where the lexical repetition occurs before it. An example of phrasal repetition immediately after *you know* is in Celeste’s (Conv.4; E-L1) utterance in (180).

- (180) [...] the teachers try to make sure that no one falls through the cracks *you know* they very they very aware of what’s happening in your life at that time [...]

Here, the phrase *they very* (with AUX-drop) is repeated twice immediately after *you know*. An example of lexical repetition immediately after *you know* is provided by Mandisa (Conv.1; Ts-L1) in (181).

- (181) But I I felt *you know* if if this is um the standard that they set in the beginning for me to be able to be there [...]

In this example, *if* is repeated twice immediately after *you know*. The only example of lexical repetition immediately before *you know* is in Ntombi’s (Conv.2; Z-L1) utterance in (182).

- (182) So you need to find the right shoe, the one that won’t hurt your feet and and *you know* like and [...].

Ntombi’s repetition of the conjunction *and* before uttering the discourse marker *you know* may be an indication that she needs time to formulate her utterance.

5.4.3 *I mean*

The function of the phrase *I mean* as a discourse marker in Standard English is generally to introduce a self-repair. This use of *I mean* also occurs in ELF. Mandisa provides an example in (183) when she says:

- (183) When students have racial fights they always, always try and black I I I *mean* blame the black people.

Here, she intended to say *blame* but, for reasons suggested in Section 4.3.1.5 above, uttered *black* instead. In correcting herself, she uses *I mean* to introduce the self-repair.

In this study *I mean* is used as the semantic equivalent of *I think* as exemplified by Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) in (184).

- (184) Like I think it's so cute but *I mean* that cannot happen in today's [...].

Here, if one were to substitute *I mean* with *I think* the meaning of the utterance would not change. As with *like* and *you know*, the phrase *I mean* also frequently takes on the function of *for example*. Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) provides an example in (185) when she says (in reference to teenage pregnancies in the Black community):

- (185) It's too common. Too common. *I mean* they say "She's pregnant." "Oh OK."

Here, if one were to replace *I mean* with *for example*, the meaning of the utterance would not change.

As with the discourse marker *you know*, *I mean* is also juxtaposed with other fillers as is illustrated in Melissa's (Conv.4; A-L1) utterance in (186) where *I mean* occurs together with *like*.

- (186) *Like I mean* and now she said we can redo it.

Lexical/phrasal repetition also occurs with *I mean*, however (in contrast to *you know*) it only occurs immediately after the discourse marker. Michelle (Conv.5; E-L1) provides an example in (187).

- (187) *I mean* I'm I'm obviously talking about the exceptions to the rule.

In the recorded conversations *I mean* is used to introduce an elaboration or reformulation of an utterance. An example of the latter is in Jade's (Conv.6; A-L1) utterance in (188).

(188) Interviewer: [...] cause I was thinking about George W. Bush and
um...I don't think he wrote his own speeches. He obviously
didn't...

Danielle: He didn't

Jade: Obviously not, because he said some retarded things like
like just speaking on his own, like when things weren't like
prepared for him like they had these things we done them in
Linguistics, the Bushisms like the things he said. *I mean* he
just said some retarded things.

The clause after *I mean* is mainly a reformulation (with the addition of a modifier, *retarded*) of her utterance at the beginning of her turn. Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) provides another example of *I mean* introducing an elaboration in (189).

(189) We had a huge age difference *I mean* she was in her sixties I'm like in my
twenties [...].

5.4.4 *I don't know*

Apart from being used as a statement denying knowledge of something, *I don't know* is also used as a discourse marker in Standard English. Once again, ELF is no different in that this discourse marker is also used by L2 speakers of English. Among ELF-speakers in this study, *I don't know* is used utterance-initially as well as utterance-finally. When it is used utterance-initially, it could function as a turn-taking mechanism in the conversation. Simultaneously, this discourse marker introduces an aspect of modality as is exemplified in Melissa's (Conv.4; A-L1) utterance in (190).

(190) *I don't know* I didn't like [Psychology] 114 that much [...].

If the discourse marker is used utterance-finally, it indicates the end of the speaker's turn. Also it marks an aspect of probability in the overall meaning of the utterance. Anele (Conv.2; X-L1) provides an example where both functions are performed in (191).

(191) Interviewer: But like do you feel that there should be more...

Anele: Ja, I'd say the students some of them are still like they have that they're racist. Some of them are not changing ja. *I don't know...*

Ntombi: I don't think it's changing, hey?

Here, her use of *I don't know* leads to the "trailing off" of her turn in the conversation and, as a result, Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) interprets this as a signal for her to make another contribution to the conversation and self-selects by uttering *I don't think it's changing, hey?*

I don't know may also be used as a filler in order to give the speaker more time to find the right word or to formulate her utterance properly. There are many examples of this in the data, one of which is illustrated by Mikayla's (Conv.5; A-L1) utterance in (192).

(192) Like I used to be all sporty and stuff but *I don't know* that just went out the window when high school started.

In the recorded conversations, *I don't know* is also used to introduce a possibility (modality). Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides an example in (193).

(193) It's either he was here before and he *I don't know* had a bad experience with the place [...] or [...].

In this stretch of discourse she is providing possible explanations as to why the author of the article that she was given to read, is upset. *I don't know*, in this case, introduces the possibility of the author having *had a bad experience with the place*.

In a similar vein, *I don't know* may be used to introduce an approximation as exemplified by Anga (Conv.3; X-L1) in (194).

(194) Two hours of Mary J. Blige and then *I don't know* twelve hours of the

People's Celebration concert.

Here, Anga is not sure how long the concert was that she attended, so she uses *I don't know* to introduce her estimation of how long the concert was (i.e. *twelve hours*).

I don't know may also be used to introduce an elaboration as in Michelle's (Conv.5; E-L1) example, indicated in italics, in (195).

(195) Michelle: I liked [the TV series, Grey's Anatomy] Grey's until season four and then. Is it season five that one now? The one that's-

Interviewer: Season Six just finished.

Michelle: OK well maybe season five *I don't know* the one where everyone started dying and they started taking characters out.

Here, Michelle is not sure in which season of Grey's Anatomy she stopped watching. She thinks it may be season five, utters *I don't know* and elaborates on what happened in that season of the television show (*the one where everyone started dying and they started taking characters out*).

Some speakers in the recorded conversations use *I don't know* to introduce an utterance reformulation. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) provides an example of this in (196).

(196) I find that [Social Work] to be more *I don't know* maybe that would interest me more.

Here, she realizes that what she has uttered before *I don't know* (i.e. *I find that to be more*) is either not formulated properly or the meaning she intends to convey through that utterance is not adequate enough, so she inserts the discourse marker *I don't know* and then reformulates her previous utterance to be *maybe that would interest me more*.

Once again, as with the other discourse markers discussed above, it seems that *I don't know* is used with the semantic function of *for example*. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) is the only speaker who uses it in this way, as is illustrated in (197), but she does so three times in her conversation.

- (197) It was quite the norm like *I don't know* my m- parents started dating when
my mom was 16 and they've been together ever since then like.

Here, if one were to substitute *I don't know* with *for example* the meaning of the utterance would not change.

5.4.5 *Sort of and kind of*

The phrases *sort of* and *kind of* are similar in almost every aspect. In Standard South African English they are synonyms for *type of* as in *That's the sort/kind/type of quality we are looking for*. This occurs in a similar way in ELF. The data suggest that both *sort of* and *kind of* can be used as fillers to give the speaker more time to find the right word or to formulate his/her utterance properly. This occurs very frequently in the use of both phrases although *sort of* is used more often than *kind of*. An example of the former is in Bulelwa's (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (198).

- (198) And I *sort of* walked away I was like [...].

Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides an example of the latter in (199).

- (199) Both had a very extreme um um *kind of* approach to getting their place and
keeping it.

In this example, Thandiwe has uttered filled pauses (i.e. *um um*) before uttering *kind of* which indicates that she is having difficulty in finding the right word to use. This then supports the argument that *kind of* can be used as a filler.

Both *sort of* and *kind of* can be used as semantic equivalents of *almost* as is illustrated by Bulelwa's (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (200).

- (200) It's been like that for like years now so they *sort of* used to it [...]

In this instance, *sort of* can be replaced with *almost* and the meaning of the sentence will not change. Similarly, *kind of* can also be used as the semantic equivalent of *almost* and the meaning of the sentence will not change. This is exemplified in Michelle's (Conv.5; E-L1) utterance in (201).

- (201) Then you get Shaoxing which is *kind of* like Cape Town [...]

In terms of possible differences between the two discourse markers, it was found that *kind of* was used as the semantic equivalent of *a bit* whereas this did not occur with *sort of* in the data. Melissa (Conv.4; A-L1) provides an example of *kind of* being used with this meaning in (202).

(202) It's *kind of* hectic at times [...]

Here *kind of* could be substituted with *a bit* and the meaning of the phrase would not change.

Interestingly, only *sort of* was juxtaposed with other discourse markers whereas *kind of* was not. Michelle (Conv.5; E-L1) provides an example of this in (203).

(203) You know *sort of* like it wasn't her birthday.

In this example, *sort of* occurs together with the discourse markers *you know* and *like*.

5.4.6 *Yoh!*

Yoh! [yɔ] is an isiXhosa exclamation with the English equivalent of *Wow!* or *Phew!*. What is interesting is that Anga (Conv.3; X-L1), Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) and Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) used it quite often in their respective ELF conversations. Bulelwa provides an example of this in (204).

(204) *Yoh!* The woman's got style, hey?

This exclamation may be used, as Pölzl (2003) suggests, as an indication of their identification with their respective isiXhosa and isiZulu L1s and cultures, and of their own relatedness through their access to isiXhosa. In addition, it could be used to indicate that they are members of both the isiXhosa/isiZulu and ELF cultures. Even the researcher also sometimes made use of it in her speech. This may be an indication of how often and to what extent the speakers of South African languages come into contact on a daily basis. Languages are not impermeable and this may show what happens when languages come into contact with one another as often as they do in South Africa.

5.4.7 Other discourse markers

Another interesting discourse marker that was used, although by one person and infrequently, was *Hawu!* [haʊ] This is an example of an isiXhosa discourse marker similar to *Yoh!* The English equivalent here would be the exclamation *Oh!*. Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) used this discourse marker in (205) and (206).

(205) And other Black people are like “*Hawu!* We want to tell white people to stop beating up.”

(206) She said “*Hawu! Ubyebe!*” [= “Oh my goodness! You are so fat!”]

In contrast to the utterance in (205) Ntombi produces this isiXhosa discourse marker in (206) and then continues the rest of the utterance in isiXhosa. Once again, Ntombi’s (Conv.2; Z-L1) exclamation may be used to indicate her loyalty to her Xhosa culture and her L2, isiXhosa. Alternatively, it could also be used to indicate her membership of both the isiXhosa and English cultures.

Interestingly, Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) used the Afrikaans discourse marker *mos* [mɔs] twice in her conversation. She stated that she felt that her Afrikaans had improved since being a student at Stellenbosch University, which is primarily Afrikaans-speaking, as well as living in a primarily Afrikaans student residence. The fact that she knows how to use this discourse marker serves as proof of her extended contact with Afrikaans speakers. Even though she only uses it twice and she code-switches into Afrikaans (see Section 4.3.4), the appearance of the discourse marker *mos* indicates contact between three languages and three cultures (Xhosa, English and Afrikaans), all of which are reflected in Nomsa’s ELF.

5.5 Black South African English features

The data suggest that BSAE speakers do not systematically use the same rules as E-L1 speakers do. This section refers to BSAE features that occurred in my ELF data that may, in some way, also be interesting from an ELF perspective.

(Non-) Insertion of articles

The first finding is that BSAE speakers sometimes use definite and indefinite articles differently to how they would be used in Standard English. Either the article in question is completely omitted (as in (207)) or an article is inserted, in contravention of Standard English rules (as in (208)). Anga (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of article omission in (207).

(207) But the fact that I made it to Ø first team should say something about my hockey skills [...].

In this instance, a first-language speaker of English would say *But the fact that I made it to the first team should say something about my hockey skills* [...]. Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) provides an example of marked use of articles in (208).

(208) No like one of the reasons I got out of *the* modelling [...].

In this example, *the* before the noun *modelling* is an insertion that does not fit Standard English rules.

Regarding the phonetic rule that determines the form of allophones *a* and *an*, BSAE speakers often do not distinguish between the two forms of the article. This is illustrated by Mandisa's (Conv.1; Ts-L1) utterance in (209).

(209) I'm I'm on *a* EDP [Extended Degree Program] program [...].

Here, because she uses the acronym *EDP* which begins with a vowel, Standard English rules would produce the indefinite article *an* rather than *a*.

(Non-) insertion of pronouns

Similarly, the data indicate that BSAE speakers follow different rules to those of Standard English ones in selecting pronouns. As with articles, pronouns are also sometimes completely omitted or the speaker uses pronouns markedly (according to the norms and rules of Standard English). Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) provides an example of pronoun omission in (210).

- (210) Ja I couldn't do anything like until recently – like until a week ago and now I can like, so Ø started exercising a little bit [...].

In this case, E-L1 speakers would say [...] so *I started exercising a little bit* [...].

Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) provides an example of marked use of pronouns in (211).

- (211) There's a platform that this guy has created, that he can say absolutely anything in whatever way that *you* want.

In this instance, the speaker is referring to the author of the article she was given to read. She first refers to him with the noun phrase *this guy* and the pronoun *he*. In accordance with Standard English rules, one would expect Thandiwe to use the pronoun *he* consistently. However, she shifts from using the third-person *he* to the second-person *you*, even though the referent in her utterance (*this guy*) has stayed the same.

(Non-) insertion of prepositions

Considering that African languages have different kinds of prepositional structures to Germanic languages, it is predictable that BSAE speakers will use prepositions according to different rules than those of the standard form. As with articles and pronouns, prepositions are also sometimes completely omitted or the speaker uses prepositions markedly (according to the norms and rules of Standard English). Anga (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of prepositional omission in (212).

- (212) Ja why UCT has so many people passing is because Ø first year they all do intro subjects [...].

Standard English would include the preposition *in* between *because* and *first*. In fact the definite article would also be included resulting in *in the first year*. Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) provides an example of marked prepositional use in (213).

- (213) [...] and how they try to bring you down like how they talk down to you so that by the time you get *into* that door you don't feel yourself anymore.

Here, she uses the preposition *into* rather than *through* (*the door*).

It is important to note that, even though the BSAE speakers omit or markedly use these lexical elements, the ELF conversations in which these features occurred still continued with no remarkable misunderstanding.

Adverbial versus adjective use

Some of the speakers used adverbial forms for adjectives and vice versa. Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) uses the adverbial form *badly* rather than the unmarked adjective form *bad* in (214).

- (214) And that already says how *badly* your mental perception of anything that's different from me or from you is [...].

Simplification of tense

In BSAE, AUX-drop occurs very often as well as zero-marking of past tense verbs (see Section 3.3.2). Nomsa (Conv.7; X-L1) provides an example of AUX-drop in (215).

- (215) I don't think that a person knows really what AIDS is until you've seen a person who's laying there on the bed and they Ø about to die [...].

See Section 5.2 for a full discussion of AUX-drop. Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) provides an example of zero-marking of a past tense verb in (216).

- (216) Like they came from this other creature, not the monkey or the baboon or the apes and that's when they like *call* people barbarians [...].

An E-L1 speaker would put the verb *call* into the past tense by adding the past tense morpheme *-ed*. This is because the verb in the first part of the utterance is already in the past tense (i.e. *they came*). Therefore, to be consistent, the rest of this utterance should also be in the past tense.

Sorry as a speech act

With regard to *sorry* as a speech act (as mentioned by Gough in Section 3.3.2) not once in her different instances of uttering the word does Thandiwe (Conv.1; X-L1) use it to indicate her sympathy for Mandisa's (Conv.1; Ts-L1) bad luck. Every instance of *sorry* was used to convey an apology. For example, at one point in the conversation Thandiwe

accidentally bumped Mandisa with her foot under the table at which they were sitting. The researcher was a witness to this. To apologise to Mandisa, Thandiwe uttered the word *sorry*.

Structuring of information

In terms of structuring of information, it was found that some of the BSAE speakers in the data re-arrange their sentences to achieve focus, the result of which is an utterance with marked word order. As was reported in Gough (in de Klerk 1996), the item in focus is put in the sentence-initial position (see Section 3.3.8). It is interesting to note that the data suggest that the item in focus can also be moved to the clause-initial position of a subordinate clause. The item in focus does not always have to be in the sentence-initial position of a main clause. This is illustrated by Anga's (Conv.3; X-L1) utterance in (217).

- (217) [...] and she was going on about how *these black kids they* have lost their culture and their roots and.

In this case, the subordinate clause contains the item in focus in initial position, *these black kids*. However, the pronoun *they* is used directly after it. This pronoun usage is repetitive and actually unnecessary.

Code-switching and code-mixing

Code-switching and code-mixing (see Section 4.3.4 for a more detailed discussion hereof) occurred quite frequently in the data. For example, Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) uses the isiXhosa phrase *Hayi man!* (literally *No man!*) regularly in her conversation with Anga (Conv.3; X-L1). In addition, Ntombi (Conv.2; Z-L1) switches whole utterances into isiXhosa. Bulelwa (Conv.3; X-L1) also uses the invariant tag question *né*. What is interesting is that this is a standard isiXhosa tag which was borrowed from Afrikaans and used in BSAE.

5.6 Cape Flats English and Afrikaans English features

Of the participants in this study, three out of the four Afrikaans L1 speakers were from the Cape Flats, thus they most likely speak the variety identified as “Kaapse Afrikaans” or “Kaaps”. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1), however, is an L1 speaker of what is identified as

Standard Afrikaans, largely spoken in white communities. Cape Flats English (CFE) is typically spoken by L1 and L2 speakers of English from these Cape Flats communities. English, when spoken as L2 by L1 speakers of Standard Afrikaans (Afr-E), shares many features with CFE, as was indicated in the critique of Watermeyer's analysis of Afr-E features.

Instances of concord

As was mentioned in Malan (in de Klerk 1996) erratic adherence to the standard rules of concord occurs frequently in CFE. This feature was also reported by Watermeyer in AfrE (in de Klerk 1996). The conversations recorded for this project exemplify this, whether the speaker is an L1 Speaker of Standard Afrikaans or of Kaaps. An example of this is in Danielle's (Conv.6; A-L1) utterance in (218).

(218) So all the old Maties *gives* back [...]

The plural noun phrase *all the old Maties* (referring to Stellenbosch University alumni) is paired with the third-person-singular verb form *gives*. Standard English requires that the verb agrees in number with its referent, thus the plural noun phrase would require zero-marking, in this case, *give*, the third-person plural verb form (see reviews on and discussions of concord and third-person zero marking in Sections 3.4.1, 3.5.1, 3.5.2, 4.3.2).

Reduced tense marking

As with speakers of BSAE, both CFE and AfrE speakers produced various utterances with reduced tense marking. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) illustrates an example of this when she drops the auxiliary verb *are* in her present continuous tense formation in (219).

(219) [...] the next thing you know they Ø breaking lifts, emptying fire extinguishers [...].

See Section 5.2 for a full discussion of AUX-drop. Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) provides another example of reduced tense marking in (220).

(220) [...] like they had these things, *we done* them in Linguistics, the Bushisms [...].

In this example, she may have done one of two things: either she omitted the auxiliary *had* between the pronoun *we* and the past participle *done* in the process of forming the pluperfect tense *we had done* (as in (221)), or she used only the past participle *done* rather than the past tense *did* (as in (222)).

(221) They had these things; *we had done* them in Linguistics, the Bushisms...

(222) They had these things; *we did* them in Linguistics, the Bushisms...

Omission and marked use of prepositions

As with speakers of BSAE, CFE speakers use English prepositions differently to their L1 counterparts. However, this was not the case with Mikayla's use of prepositions in AfrE. It has been reported in the literature on CFE that the prepositions *at*, *with*, *on*, *in* and *to* can all be replaced with *by* (Malan in de Klerk 1996: 137). The data I have collected concur with this finding in that Melissa (Conv.4; A-L1) makes use of *by* in this way, as is illustrated in (223).

(223) How big are your classes because I mean *by* us it's like about we really small.

Here, *by* can be replaced with *with* and the meaning of the sentence will not change. Prepositions can also be omitted or used differently in comparison to the ways in which they are used in Standard English. An example of the former is in Mercia's (Conv.7; A-L1) utterance in (224).

(224) [...] Ø the beginning of the year I decided to do Psychology.

In this example, Mercia has omitted the preposition *at* at the beginning of her utterance. An example of marked prepositional use is in Melissa's (Conv.4; A-L1) utterance in (225).

(225) I think that is the worst thing *of* [Sociology] also.

Here, Melissa uses the preposition *of* where an E-L1 speaker would use *about*.

Pronominal usage

In the recorded conversations CFE as well as AfrE speakers erratically apply Standard English rules for the use of pronouns. Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) provides an example of this in (226).

(226) [...] they [UCT authorities] like put you into one [a degree] *you* think you'll be better at.

In this example, the singular pronoun *you* in the pronominal phrase *you think* is used to refer to the plural subject (*they*). The pronoun *they* would be expected in this case as Jade is referring to administrative staff at UCT. Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) also exhibits an instance of erratic application of pronominal concord rules in (227), where the pronoun is indicated in italics.

(227) Michelle: No security cameras?

Mikayla: Um the-, like everywhere's open like in res in res, but they not allowed to have *it* on our floors, because it's not- privacy and blah, blah, blah.

To be consistent, the pronoun *them* should have been used rather than *it* because Mikayla is referring to the plural noun *security cameras*.

Article usage

As in BSAE, AfrE speakers do not consistently apply the phonological rule that determines the form of the article *a* or *an*. However, no instances of article omission occurred in CFE. An example of marked article use is when Melissa (Conv.4; A-L1) does not distinguish between the articles *a* and *an* in the utterance in (228).

(228) [...] and all of a sudden I had to go to *a* all girls' school.

The lexical item following the article (i.e. *all*) begins with a vowel. According to the rules of Standard English, the indefinite article must then be *an*, where *-n* is inserted to emphasise the distinction between the article and the initial sound of the following word.

In the ELF recordings Mikayla (Conv.5; A-L1) omits the article; she also uses a preposition that is reminiscent of the Afrikaans equivalent, although it is not the preposition conventionally used in E-L1. Both of these types of article use are exemplified in (229).

(229) That's why I like Ø single room, I usually keep *by* myself, you know?

Standard English would add the indefinite article to the NP (*a single room*) and would say *keep to myself*. The fact that BSAE, CFE and AfrE speakers all use articles as erratically as is illustrated above, and that irregular use of prepositions is noted in all of these E-L2 speaking communities, encourages one to propose that considering L2 structures in South

African multilingual communication from an ELF perspective may be more productive than from a perspective which distinguishes narrowly between the various E-L2 varieties.

Adverbial versus adjective use

Although infrequent, CFE speakers in my data use adverbial forms for adjectives, and vice versa. An example of adverbial rather than adjective use is in Mercia's example in (230) where the use of *mental* instead of *mentally* would result in an unmarked utterance.

(230) Somehow I think it's a *mentally*...thing.

No instances of this were found in Mikayla's AfrE in her ELF interaction.

Code-mixing and code-switching

There were a few instances of code-mixing with campus-related terms in both CFE and AfrE as was indicated earlier in (127) in Section 4.3.4. Established campus-related terms such as *Humarga*, *HK*, *huisdans* and *Jool* were used quite often by both sets of speakers. However, no complete utterances were code-switched by these speakers.

Structuring of information

The conversational contribution of Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) exhibits instances of "fronting" in which she structures her information so that the item that she wants to foreground is moved to the sentence-initial position. This is exemplified in (231).

(231) The the *the res next to us*, *they* were like screaming [...].

As with Anga's (Conv.3; X-L1) example in (217) in Section 4.4.5, Jade (Conv.6; A-L1) utters *the res next to us* then utters its corresponding pronoun (*they*) immediately afterwards. The pronominal utterance appears to be repetitive, though this structure typically occurs as an emphatic device in spoken language. The fact that Jade also makes use of this phrasal shift may be an indication that this BSAE feature is more prevalent in other varieties of English in South Africa than what it is reported to be. Mikayla's (Conv.5; A-L1) conversational contribution contained no instances of fronting to focus a given item. Nevertheless, as this is a limited corpus, it is not certain that longer conversations may not have produced such pragmatic uses.

Loan translations from Afrikaans

Finally, where English has two words for concepts that are articulated in other languages by one word, as in *borrow* and *lend* (Afrikaans (“leen”), or *teach* and *learn* (Afrikaans “leer”), non-L1 English speakers typically use the English words without the particular meaning distinction. Danielle (Conv.6; A-L1) is the only participant who provided an example of this, as is illustrated in (232).

(232) A teacher *learns* you the basic things [...].

As noted by Watermeyer the Afrikaans *leer* has two semantic equivalents in English, namely *teach* and *learn* (see Section 3.5.3). In Danielle’s example, *learns* is used to mean *teaches*.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, distinctions and descriptions given in the ELF literature in Chapter 2, as well as those given in the discussion of South African E-L2 varieties in Chapter 3 have been applied in considering a new set of data. The most notable grammatical and discursive ELF features that occur in the small corpus of ELF conversations I collected have been highlighted. Various discourse markers, instances of concord and third-person-zero marking, code-switching and code-mixing, marked word orders and misunderstandings were analysed and discussed. In addition, other interesting ELF phenomena that were not specifically reported in the European literature, were illustrated and discussed. These included AUX-drop, explicit utterances of self-doubt regarding English proficiency, and thinking aloud. It is evident from the analysis of these data that, not only are the interlocutors able to take part in negotiations (therefore indicating their “fully intact strategic competences” as mentioned in House (2002: 259)), but their respective English language competences are very well-developed. In fact, the participants’ English language competences could be regarded as surpassing those of the participants in House’s (2002) study due to the fact that, for most of them, English is an L2 variety as well as a lingua franca.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Linking aims, interests and outcomes

The aim of this study was (i) to investigate some of the typical, prevalent linguistic and discursive features of ELF, (ii) to determine whether there were any critical differences between ELF in South Africa and developing varieties of L2 English in the country, and (iii) to analyse a small sample of authentic ELF produced by L1 speakers of various South African languages spoken in the Western Cape with a view to recognising ELF features that typically occur in this context.

An important part of this study has been the sourcing of core literature in the relatively new field of English as a lingua franca. My aim here has been to give a thorough description of the published research in the past 10 to 15 years to identify the most important questions and findings in research that considers the use of English as a medium of communication in intercultural linguistic interaction among L1 speakers of languages other than English. A second aim was to review a sample of South African scholarly work on various varieties of L2 English in South Africa. These varieties are widely used as lingua francae, although the research perspective to date has not been on ELF. Rather, in the South African context, the focus in L2 English studies has been on distinguishing features of the different varieties which are largely identified by what the L1s of the various speakers are.

To address the third aim of this project, a closed corpus was created in which recordings of conversations were made of the ELF spoken by 14 female students from the University of Stellenbosch with matric qualifications, between the ages of 18 to 27 and from various L1 backgrounds. The recordings were then transcribed (see Appendix D for an example of one such transcribed conversation), analysed and described in terms of the findings from the European literature on ELF. In addition the data were analysed and described in terms of the findings on the features of the three relevant South African L2 varieties of English, namely Black South African English, Cape Flats English and Afrikaans English. My

assumption has been that L2 Englishes are used in ELF communication in the Western Cape (as probably in the rest of the country as well) and that many features of ELF investigated and recorded in other contexts (such as those investigated by House (2002), Seidlhofer (2004), Meierkord (2000), Mauranen (2006), Smit (2010), and so on) will be found in L2 English varieties in this region.

Chapter 2 gave an overview of the work done in ELF studies to date. It starts with some background sections to place this study in context, indicating that an ELF perspective on the use of English gives a research approach different to e.g. Kachru's "New Englishes", and different also to L2 studies that are interested in the relatively incompletely developed structures of L2 Englishes and learner languages. This chapter gave, amongst other things, a description of the global distribution of English, the distribution of English in South Africa as well as a historical background of English in South Africa. The chapter then gave an extensive survey of the European literature on ELF.

Chapter 3 gave a shorter account of the scholarly literature on the linguistic features of the three aforementioned South African L2 varieties of English. Considering that to date there have been no major studies on ELF in South Africa, the work on L2 English in South Africa was investigated for the insight this gives on L2 uses of English among L1 speakers of different South African languages.

The particular methodology used in this research was explained in Section 1.4 in Chapter 1 and in Section 4.2 in Chapter 4. In Chapter 4, an exposition of the research design and the particular participants of the study was given as well as an analysis of the ELF features exhibited in the collected corpus. Particularly, it refers to those features identified in European ELF literature with a view to illustrating that similar features occur when English is used as lingua franca among L2 speakers of English (or an L1 English speaker and L1 speakers of other languages) in the Western Cape. Thus the analysis given in Chapter 4 drew on the review given in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5 attended to grammatical and discursive features of the South African L2 varieties of English that occurred in the ELF discourses. It indicated a degree of overlap between features identified as typically ELF and those identified as typical of BSAE, CFE and AfrE

– three local varieties of L2 English. This chapter also gave an analysis of the ELF data with reference to the features found in the European ELF literature, as well as an exposition of some of the findings from this research which are unique to the South African ELF context.

6.2 Summary of the findings

The specific research questions I addressed in this study are given here again, for easy reference:

- 1) Following recent research on English as a lingua franca (ELF), what structures can be identified as typical linguistic and discursive markers of ELF in the Western Cape?
- 2) When English is used as a lingua franca between speakers of different South African languages, in a closed corpus, which typical ELF features are prevalent?
- 3) When English is used as a lingua franca between speakers of different South African languages, in a closed corpus, which English L2 features occur which are apparently unique to this particular constellation of languages?

Chapters 4 and 5 give an impression of the range of data in which many grammatical and discursive features that mark ELF were found in a sample of conversations among young women in the Western Cape. Chapters 2 and 4 attend to more general ELF features in received research and in my small corpus of ELF in the Western Cape. Chapters 3 and 5 attend to distinctive features of E-L2 varieties in South Africa that can most likely also be identified as features of ELF in South Africa.

With regard to results, in summary, the data for this study revealed that South African ELF speakers make frequent use of discourse markers for various functions. Concerning the agreement between verbs and their subjects, speakers also produce errors of concord, and specifically third-person zero marking of verb forms. These speakers apply the standard rules erratically, thus often producing utterances that differ distinctly from L1 renderings of the same content. Even so, they are not completely deficient in the knowledge and use of

these third-person verb form markers because there are many other instances in their respective conversations where these agreements are formulated correctly in L1 terms.

Furthermore, it was found that South African ELF speakers code-mix and code-switch, embedding from their L1s for various discursive reasons. Instances of misunderstandings in the data are collectively resolved, so that the ELF discourses show virtually no signs of communicative breakdown. The data also suggest that marked ELF word orders are a frequent occurrence as well as sometimes being idiosyncratic. Finally, three L2 English/ELF phenomena were found in the data which were not reported in the European literature on ELF. These were instances of AUX-drop, explicit self-doubt of a speaker's own proficiency in ELF, and thinking aloud.

What is evident is that South African ELF and European ELF do apparently share a range of features. However, even with their similarities, they are still different types of shared communication. While English is an L2 for many citizens of South Africa, this language is more often than not a foreign language for their European counterparts. Also, in all cases one finds predictable transfer of linguistic features and discursive conventions from the various primary cultures of each community. Therefore, it is to be expected that ELF in, for example, Germany would exhibit some features typical of German L1 encounters, just as ELF amongst speakers of isiXhosa or of Afrikaans would exhibit some features typical not only of multicultural communication generally, but also of L1 encounters between L1 speakers of the various indigenous languages.

6.3 Limitations of the study

This study made much of a review of the “state of the art” of research on ELF and L2 English in South Africa. The application in which a local sample of ELF conversation was collected and analysed, is exploratory and tentative. One shortcoming of this study is that the participant group was too small to allow wide generalisation. It does, however, give good qualitative insight into what seems to be regular conversational practices in ELF communication among a group of speakers that are possibly representative of the local communities. If a larger participant group were to be used in the future, it is likely that the

ELF findings may be able to be generalised and thus be truly representative of the ELF spoken in South Africa.

Perhaps using a video recorder as well as a digital voice recorder during the data collection may have supplemented the audio data and enhanced the ELF analyses and findings. Finally, interviewing the participants a while after the recordings took place would have been helpful in providing an emic perspective on their ELF usage. In addition, this may have helped with the analysis and interpretation of the results, as it did in House (2002).

6.4 Suggestions for further research

In almost every reading that was consulted for this thesis, it was stated that there is an overwhelming need for more descriptive research on the features of ELF. Considering that this study is the first of its kind on ELF in South Africa, there are many suggestions for further research. Firstly, a change in the age, gender distribution, level of formal education, differences in socio-economic status and speakers of a wider variety of South African languages may elicit different results. The participant scope of this study is narrow in that it only analysed the ELF usage of female students at a tertiary-educational level in the Western Cape. Secondly, it would be interesting to include a written as well as a spoken data component for analysis, which could be useful to determine the extent to which these ELF features are becoming standard in the ELF usage of the participants. Perhaps investigating the ELF usage of adults without secondary school education may produce different results. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see the results of a comparative study of the ELF usage of speakers in the other eight South African provinces.

If further research on ELF in South Africa were to be carried out on students at a tertiary educational level, recruiting students, both males and females, who are at various levels of completing different degrees across different faculties may produce different results. Finally, pairing international E-L1 students with their local, non-L1 English counterparts using ELF as a shared medium of communication may elicit insightful results.

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APPENDIX A – DATA COLLECTION CONSENT FORM

**DATA COLLECTION FOR M.A. THESIS ON USAGE OF ENGLISH AS A
LINGUA FRANCA IN VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE
COMMUNITIES**

Department of General Linguistics, University of Stellenbosch

Researcher: Lauren Onraët

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, (full names and surname), hereby give my informed consent to participate in this MA thesis data collection.

I am fully aware that my conversation is being recorded purely for research purposes and that I can discontinue my participation at any time without a reason being provided. I have been informed that the information on this form will be treated as strictly confidential and that I am under no obligation to answer any questions which I regard as inappropriate, too personal and/or offensive.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX B – LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

DATA COLLECTION FOR M.A. THESIS ON USAGE OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES

Department of General Linguistics, University of Stellenbosch

Researcher: Lauren Onraët

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTION FORM

1. Name: _____
2. Surname: _____
3. Date of birth: _____
4. Area in which you live (e.g. Stellenbosch, Macassar, Strand) _____

5. How long have you been living in this area? _____
6. Year of matriculation: _____
7. High school in which you wrote your matric exams: _____
8. In which area is your high school? (e.g. Stellenbosch, Macassar, Strand)

9. In which language did you write your matric exams? _____
10. Current place of study/employment: _____
11. If applicable, what year of study are you currently in? _____

12. On a scale of 1 to 3 (**where 1 = Poor, 2 = Average, 3 = Good**), please rate your abilities in the boxes in the table below.

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
English				
Afrikaans				
isiXhosa				
Other (please specify)				

13. Please state when/where you use each language in the table below (e.g. at home, school, work, church, with friends, during sports practice, etc.)

	When / Where you use this language:
English	
Afrikaans	
isiXhosa	
Other (please specify)	

14. At what age did you start to learn English? _____

APPENDIX C – ARTICLE GIVEN TO THE PARTICIPANTS TO READ

Coming out on top: UCT wins again

Written by Anton Taylor

Thursday, 08 April 2010 09:44

At the time of writing this I, like many other UCT students, am doing my best to come to terms with the loss of the Ikeys in last Monday's Varsity Cup Final. I would love to say that it is just a game of rugby, and that I don't care about what happened, but sadly, I cannot. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the game meant a lot to me, as it did to thousands of us, and I really, really wanted us to win. We had fought so hard and a loss was always going to be heartbreaking, especially when we came so close to taking the cup.

The second, and probably bigger, reason that our loss irks me so much is because of the way in which people seem to assign to the result of the game some measurement as to which university is better (and I use the word 'university' very lightly, in fact rather ironically, when referencing that torpid hell-hole of 'academic' squalor).

I generally seek to avoid mentioning such repulsive places in my writing, but I can no longer do so. We need to have the Stellenbosch talk. I have to clear things up, and you need to know this: UCT has always been, is, and always will be, superior to Stellenbosch. In all endeavours, including rugby, UCT wins.

I do not need to describe Stellenbosch to any of you that have been there. If you were there last Monday you would have experienced the hate, the bigotry and the absolute bloody barbarism of it's inmates. You were probably pelted with cans as you walked out of the stadium and, if you walked in alone (as I once did), you would probably have been pushed into the fence or thrown to the ground by hordes of drunk, red-faced shouting dogs. If you were with a girl, a big gang of them might have come up to you and sworn at her, hoping you would retaliate so that they might beat you to a pulp.

Every time I'm in Stellenbosch I find myself waiting for somebody to run up to me and go, "It's a joke! It's a joke! This isn't real!" When I hear 'Die Stem' blaring through residence windows, and guys in cars are driving past and calling us 'k-lovers', I keep waiting for somebody to tap me on the shoulder and go, "We really had you going there! You didn't actually think that this could really happen in South Africa in 2010, did you?" Yet nobody ever does.

So let's look at some hard facts, some of which you already know:

1. In the international rankings, Stellenbosch ranks hundreds of positions below UCT. Where exactly it falls is hard to tell, because the rankings generally stop after 500.
2. Stellenbosch is easier to get accepted into. Anybody who has applied to UCT knows that, and they also know how dubious and tired it becomes when some partially-retarded tool tells you, "I went to Stellies because it's so much more fun than UCT."
3. At Stellenbosch rugby is everything, however, at UCT our Sports Council is seemingly intent on crippling our rugby side. Our budget is no more than R350 000. Theirs is nearing R6 million. We are an academic institution playing against a sports academy. We are accountants and engineers playing against full-time rugby players with degrees in BA Finger-painting. So the fact that we so nearly beat them, and that we one day will beat them, is a disgrace and humiliation to the students of Stellenbosch. If you think about what we did with what we have, UCT wins.

When we lose it hurts, it chokes and for a while it sits on your shoulders, but that's part of life. And part of being a UCT student is dealing with that pain, painting on some more blue, enduring their bigotry and beer cans, and continually supporting our boys, even during the wind-swept games without alcohol on the Green Mile. We do this because in our hearts we know that we are better. And if we can suffer, carry on and contest against rugby teams with far superior resources, can you imagine what will happen when we take that resolve and put it behind the best academic teachings on the continent? It's actually unfair.

But perhaps we should let them take their victory in the final. Let them savour that fleeting happiness while it lasts. Let them keep their dumb, muck cheerleaders and their biased MC's. Let them drink brandy and talk about how they beat the *souties* and the blacks. Because, deep down, beneath that bravado, beneath the red faces of the men, and the make-up caked veneers of the women (women, not ladies), as they choke on that stale, old air of the past, they know what the future holds. They know that soon enough they will be flung out of their all-white racist enclave into a country and world which has moved on without them and which has no place for them.

As the ill and old desperately cling on whilst feeling that cold dark death pulling them downwards, so too let these pitiful creatures frantically hold on to their dying way of life. For soon they will realise that their degrees don't cut it overseas. Soon they will be serving the spoilt UCT first-years drinks. Soon they will be calling a black woman 'boss'. And perhaps, in the midst of that great bleakness, it might make their pitiful existences a bit less depressing to think that they beat us in rugby a couple of times.

We are standing upon the mountain as the leaders and creators of the future South Africa, and world. We look down upon Stellenbosch as the drunken vagrants of tertiary education. We are harder to get in, we are stronger academically, we are more diverse, we are more peaceful, we are braver, we will be richer, and despite their desperate proclamations, our girls are much prettier.

UCT wins. UCT wins. UCT wins.

APPENDIX D – EXAMPLE OF A CONVERSATIONAL TRANSCRIPTION

MANDISA AND THANDIWE

- MANDISA:** I'm from everywhere actually
- THANDIWE:** Ah yay another nomad! Joy to the world. Oh goodness. OK so state one place that you've been in uh stayed in...OK you're left-handed for real cause you can't speak when you're writing.
- MANDISA:** No I can't. My sister can walk, speak, sing and write at the same time but I can't.
- THANDIWE:** How long have you lived in this area?
- INTERVIEWER:** This is Greek shortbread so help yourselves.
- THANDIWE:** Have you got Greek blood in you?
- INTERVIEWER:** No but I do wish I did.
- THANDIWE:** You look like you do.
- INTERVIEWER:** Oh thanks!
- THANDIWE:** For the longest time I thought there was Scandi- uh Scandinavian blood in you.
- INTERVIEWER:** mh?
- THANDIWE:** I also um thought you know your hair colour.

INTERVIEWER: No.

THANDIWE: Just those eyes of yours baby [laughs].

MANDISA: What?

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] oh dear that's funny.

THANDIWE: Year of matriculation. Man I sound so old. When did I matriculate?
God I can't remember.

MANDISA: Is it possible that you can't remember something like that-

THANDIWE: It's been a while.

MANDISA: Wow

THANDIWE: It's been a while...except I do remember so.

MANDISA: No the only thing I can never remember is if you ask me what year I
w- I was in what grade then...

INTERVIEWER: really?

MANDISA: I I I can never do the maths on the spot I will have to stop for a
moment and think.

THANDIWE: It's also cause of the whole working out what standard is what grade.

MANDISA: No, the standards and the grade I I'm OK with I just cannot think
numbers. I had to do both literacy maths and normal maths just to

get that change in my brain co- I refuse to do any um numeracy I I just thought to myself you know I I'm better at writing words than working out numbers and it actually helped me a lot because now I can sit and do proper maths with the boffins and I don't feel so intimidated anymore.

INTERVIEWER: That's good.

MANDISA: What about the languages I never tried to read or write?

INTERVIEWER: Ah you just speak?

MANDISA: Ja.

INTERVIEWER: That's fine. Just write there that you just speak them. You've never tried to read or write...Um Mandisa was telling me that she knows...nine languages hey?

MANDISA: Yes.

INTERVIEWER: Bloody crazy.

THANDIWE: Mandisa knows 9 languages. Where's Mandisa from?

MANDISA: Everywhere, I told you.

THANDIWE: Can you state a place?

MANDISA: Okay, I was born in Joburg, I've lived here nearly four years now. Um...I lived everywhere in Joburg literally.

THANDIWE: OK. It's still just Joburg, OK.

MANDISA: Ja. So um if you think about Joburg on its own, its got every...race, colour, language –

THANDIWE: Mmm. That is quite true-

MANDISA: everything is there.

THANDIWE: That is very true.

MANDISA: And um to be able to survive you have to be able to meet a person conversationally at their 1- own level, they they never give you the choice actually. If you don't speak their language they will not um help you, ja that's that's the mentality. So when I got here I had this huge...culture shock, because here a person will look at you and first determine what you speak before they start talking to you.

INTERVIEWER: What?

MANDISA: Ja. Um a whole lot of people look at me and...OK well now you can see I'm purely black, but um I had um-

THANDIWE: Hold on, hold on I wanna stop you there. What does that mean?

MANDISA: It means that although a lot of people assume that I'm Xhosa speaking when they look at me.

THANDIWE: OK and so “purely black” entails...

MANDISA: [laughs]

THANDIWE: No I'm curious, I'm curious like what the...am I starting the conversation already? Ah sorry.

INTERVIEWER: No, no go ahead. Please go ahead. Seriously.

MANDISA: Ja um actually I I don't know. For some reason a whole lot of people that meet me for the first time, especially if they just black um start speaking Xhosa to me and-

THANDIWE: It's cause you pretty. Xhosa girls are pretty

MANDISA: OK I didn't think of that before. But um the other thing is...as soon as I don't have my own natural hair on, I put on extensions, I I prefer to have what they call a weave which is basically doing my hair uh so that it looks similar to yours, and then they'll start speaking to me as if I'm coloured and...

THANDIWE: Really?

MANDISA: Ja.

THANDIWE: Oh that also makes sense.

MANDISA: It it always happens it it always happens, and I've actually been fascinated with the whole thing, that um...I wanted to actually study what wha- w- what causes people to make such assumptions you know um, but um I haven't really done anything about it yet.

INTERVIEWER: Just find it interesting.

MANDISA: Ja it i- it is, it is because um my class one... the first class I was put into which was my class for the rest of my um...studying at Table View High um, those children started gossiping about me in class in Zulu. So I turned around in Zulu and I say "Listen guys, I don't like what you doing, stop it." They look at me and they gossip now in Sotho, I turn around in Sotho and I said, "Guys come on now."

THANDIWE: Are you serious? (inaudible)

MANDISA: They moved...they moved...they moved to Venda thinking that's one of the difficult languages I won't be able to understand.

THANDIWE: Where are these girls from? My gosh.

MANDISA: I was like "Excuse me!" in their own language. "I don't like any of this." They're like "What is she, where did she come from?"

INTERVIEWER: A language mutant.

MANDISA: So I was like um ja um the the whole three years I was tha- I I I was in that class they busy trying to figure me out, because I don't know – they they just thought this is really freaky, because they just couldn't get their minds around...why I'm so different, and yet they they they just cannot get to my level. I'm like I'm just a different breed. Ja I I I'm-

THANDIWE: That's awesome (inaudible)

MANDISA: They're all born... here, so.

THANDIWE: So how could they have exposure to so many languages (inaudible)-

MANDISA: TV-

THANDIWE: Seriously? To the point-

MANDISA: I hate TV-

THANDIWE: of being able to gossip about someone?

MANDISA: Ja, you you'll be fascinated how many people actually sit in front of a TV just so they can get like those ugly bits of a language.

THANDIWE: Often yeah [jɛ:] that's how I did English. I promise you I sucked at primary school I sucked um-

MANDISA: No I was actually very surprised at how well I could pick up English, because I would go to school and because I went to a underprivileged school, the teachers couldn't pronounce half...well more than half of what they taught us, and I would go back home and I would show it to my mother and she would teach me the right way of pronouncing and writing and everything. And I only had that for the first three years at school, and from then I could do it myself. Um...I hated having to listen to someone...I I don't know, I can't stand it when somebody speaks English and they uh purposefully speak it with a thick accent when they could actually do better. I have friends two friends now; they constantly fight with me because I don't sound black. I'm like "That's your problem. If you you wanna sound black and you have the opportunity not to, then that's your problem. I'm not gonna try and be somebody I'm not", because from the time fo- from f- from as long as I can remember I hated sounding black, because I knew I could do better than that.

THANDIWE: Fair enough, hey?

MANDISA: And I've picked up that people actually take you um more seriously if you present yourself differently.

INTERVIEWER: Really?

MANDISA: They do. If if I had to walk in here and say, okay not in here, but if I had to approach someone and say um...how would I say it? I I sometimes I can't even sound black anymore. Like when I speak to my sisters there's a huge difference, there's a huge difference. Sometimes they the- they actually ask me "Are you are you actually still part of us, because you y- you don't y- you don't get to that level anymore." Sometimes I actually struggle to think in my own language, because...

INTERVIEWER: Which is what?

THANDIWE: Exactly.

MANDISA: Tsonga.

THANDIWE: Um, and that would be?

MANDISA: Tsonga, it's really, really different from um Xhosa or anything like that. So after I had been here I think...six months, I stopped thinking and dreaming or doing anything in my language, it it was just purely English all the way, and ever since then I've never looked back. It's it's been a- amazing, because um it's something I've always wanted...you know. Um my mom said, she told me this

yesterday...last night actually. She's like um "You don't sound very much like a black person." Um we speak English, but there are certain times when you actually do have that thick accent-

THANDIWE: Oh yeah [jɛ:] the slips.

MANDISA: And I was like OK ja. But i- i- it it normally comes out when I'm speaking to um my brother, and um w- we have a a tendency of imitating people. Our favourite: the Nigerians. Like um my brother would say "Oh I'm gon beat you over. You must come here, I'm gon beat you over." And then we'd go on for like hours and forget ourselves. And um tha- that's been um something that I really, really enjoy. I would watch cartoons with my brother, and for days after that we'd be talking like a cartoon character. So ja it's it's um...I'm one of those people that you would call crazy.

THANDIWE: Ja. So that term I use very loosely don't you think? It's like absolutely anything.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think about that article Thandiwe?

THANDIWE: Well I'm I'm kind of (inaudible). I'm reading very slowly, but it's very funny so far.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think so?

THANDIWE: Well um the rugby thing is just a bit intense. It's not like he-

MANDISA: Calm down.

THANDIWE: It's just rugby! Um ja.

INTERVIEWER: No it's it's-

THANDIWE: It's deep like did somebody actually...like was it officially published?

INTERVIEWER: It was on a website um, their, UCT's Varsity Newspaper website and ja uh he he is he's quite controversial a writer. I mean he's well known on the UCT campus um, but it's that article made its way to Stellenbosch and I have never seen so many um comments on that on that website as I have you know; just tearing him down and. Look I mean I can understand it, but *sjoe* you know.

THANDIWE: He's intense, he's really intense. But half the time when people write like this about a topic as...to me trivial as rugby there's something else um underlying everything, and this is just a scape goat so to speak.

INTERVIEWER: So what would you say would be underlying that intense emotion?

THANDIWE: Um I haven't entirely finished reading it.

INTERVIEWER: Oh sorry.

THANDIWE: I'm trying to..."Our girls are much prettier" than...It was also very funny but anyway...It's really intense

INTERVIEWER: I mean, so far what you've read, do you agree with what he said?

THANDIWE: I'm not actually a rugby fan but the way he's tearing us apart which he I think really gotten into properly so far. It's a bit I'm not

convinced of my theory about him having something out you know on Stellenbosch. It's either...he was here before and he I don't know had a bad experience with the place and is now this is his opportunity to get back at it or um I don't know he grew up in an area where...at some point he got ex- exposed to um...I don't know a strictly Afrikaans environment and that wasn't pleasant for him, and now he's...um lashing out because Stellenbosch is um Afrikaans and UCT is arguably English, and so the battle is still real for him. Um...again I need to finish reading and then I can make up more theories. But he's very intense...And then the superiority thing.

INTERVIEWER: I mean it's...

THANDIWE: What? Oh he went to a boys' school

INTERVIEWER: Ja, apparently he comes from a very wealthy affluent family.

MANDISA: Oh I love those.

INTERVIEWER: His his father owns Londolozi um Game Reserve. That I think it's a game reserve ja um and uh w- this is just what I've read from the reports to this article and you know I...I wou- gi- Does that- do you think that actually comes out in his writing, the fact that he's from this wealthy you know, very superior..."superior-"

THANDIWE: That does that does come out, and only because I had a conversation with my classmates once. This was in the psychology um lecture and we were doing...what were we doing? I think we were doing motivation, and we had gotten a case study about um four students who have just been accepted into U- into um Stellenbosch and it describes each one's background...um and how they were all

fighting for a social...socially acceptable place if I put that right? Um or like a way to fit in...into the environment, um and it was interesting how each one of them went about doing that and what was interesting or what I found more interesting is how um the ones that were on both extremes, that is you know coming from a really disadvantaged environment and one coming from an extremely enviro- um advantaged environment. Both had a very extreme um...um kind of approach to...getting their place and keeping it...Um and so both kind of used a lot of where they came from...to manipulate whatever situation they were in to make sure that it kind of either raised them up, or I don't know, kind of reflected them as far too low down there to keep down there, so please lift me up kind of thing. Um and so well even like from having had exposure to people that are from quite affluent um backgrounds, I find that there is a kind of "I'm better than you and I always will be better than you" kind of attitude, um and as long as I know and that is established in this relationship that's how this is gonna work kind of thing. Um and so with the one statement, um paragraph 3, "UCT has always been, is, and always will be superior to Stellenbosch." That already says, "I" as part of UCT, because I feel like this article is saying he's actually taken on the personality of UCT. But that's not gonna explain why it's so you know deep for him so emotion-driven because he is UCT, and that's why the whole um boys' school thing because they do that, the patriotism comes out so strongly, because we are one, we are Grey, we are St. Michaels, whatever. Um...and so they they're they're bred...to have that kind of mentality, and I think that's him.

INTERVIEWER: Very interesting hey?

THANDIWE: Mm...Yup

INTERVIEWER: I just don't like the fact that he downright blatantly attacks Stellenbosch. I mean what...a simple rugby game caused that type of reaction.

MANDISA: No, I think um his um viewpoint is obviously clouded, because first of all he favours an environment that he's actually fully exposed to, whereas he just um got exposure to Stellenbosch on one occasion, um and it wasn't an occasion that actually should um sum up a whole viewpoint, because it was um...set up for a specific um occasion, and that kind of occasion isn't a place where you find the most um welcoming group of friends and that sort of thing. So um his opinion is obviously from the start um... biased, and um...it's it's not um researched. So he he has no right to draw any conclusions from scratch. So I don't think we we um should be taking any of his comments seriously, because i- it just shows. I- if if you not prepared um to...first look at facts on a um very wide perspective, then I'm not prepared to look at your conclusions either, because it shows me that um you y- you just have this opinion and you you want to voice it, and nobody's gonna stop you because this is your mission. It's like...this is where I'm going and I'm just gonna go there. I'm not gonna look at anything on the sides, I'm not gonna look at anything in front of me or behind me; it's just me. This is what I want, this is what I'm gonna get you know. So i- it's it's just one of those things... I I actually um... tend to get irritated when I read somebody's writing and this is how they present it.

INTERVIEWER: Well this is it, because when I read that I actually felt this surge of anger, you know.

MANDISA: No, I don't get angry, I just ignore such people. It's like "okay, see you another time." No, I I'm I'm I I I I ignore such people so badly that they wanna scream at me. I have like this um...sort of mental filter of what I read and what I take seriously. It's um...something my dad has been teaching me and trying to go onto my brain like...um...a lot lately, because you find that sometimes you you you can read something that is very convincing...but if you don't um form your own opinion of it based on fact then you're going to be mislead, and it could result in very dangerous consequences. Um and that's why- one of the the the things I like about Stellenbosch is that, every single day I'm here I learn quite a lot, and um I'm I'm on a EDP programme, so we're doing um in Texts in the Humanities argumentation, and this argumentation is flawed from the scratch. Because I mean he he has all these facts according to his viewpoint, but they not really facts.

INTERVIEWER: No, it's...

THANDIWE: Can that be argued though? Can someone take somebody's experience and what they have experienced, right? Um...and nullify it as fact? Can you say taking your guys um both um you know comments about what this article brought out of you. You were "I'll ignore it and to point where it actually will annoy him." You were "I was just angry, this surge of anger rose out of me." Can I then nullify both of your statements and say "Well that's not true Lauren, you weren't angry. What? That couldn't happen. That couldn't have done that to you." Or "Seriously? Ignore them? (inaudible) Anyone can argue facts to a point of it's not us anymore and falsify and falsify them. Do you know what I mean? And so just reading the rest of this, um I can't I can't take...out the personal aspect of it. The fact that he was there and the fact that this thing's happened to him.

MANDISA: Um, if you look at point number two, he says that Stellenbosch is easier to get accepted into...false.

THANDIWE: How is that false?

MANDISA: Because I applied to both and...OK I'm not religious, but I prayed that I don't get accepted into that place because-

THANDIWE: Which would be?

MANDISA: UCT.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: Because I don't like it.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: From my experience being there the first time for the um what is it called? open day. The standard of service that they provided to all those students, it was a whole lot of us and it was a whole lot of staff...and the standard of service was just extremely poor. OK? I know service, because I've been exposed to all levels of um a- all kinds of um social levels. I've been exposed to extremely rich environments, medium or whatever middle class and extremely poor. So I know when the service is supposed to be at a different level.

THANDIWE: OK

MANDISA: OK? And from that experience, I felt that if they gonna treat me in that way at that point...you know I'm not willing to invest my money and time to go and study at such an institution.

THANDIWE: Okay, but that only says that...that only points out your preference. It doesn't say-

MANDISA: Well, I I had that preference okay? But it um i- it gave me an idea of the the the kind of standards they set.

THANDIWE: Again, that only says your preference. Because as soon as you're grading somebody or something it says that you're grading them against an ideal that you have which is preference. And secondly, that that's that says nothing about the ac- acceptance um procedures and how you- [intervenes]

MANDISA: No, no, no I'm still getting to that.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: I'm still getting to that.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: I wrote um this the the the...entrance exam okay and...what I've experienced was that Stellenbosch had a very a a m- a much higher um...what do you call? standard. So they made it that much more difficult for you to actually pass the exam which I found um UCT was a breeze. But because I didn't want to go to UCT, they accepted me and I declined after having thought about the whole thing for a while. And then I then uh wrote the Stellenbosch um entrance exam.

It was that much more difficult, but I I felt you know if if this is um the standard that they set in the beginning for me to be able to be there, that means th- they have that much better standard in what they-

THANDIWE: OK but then-

MANDISA: they they going to offer me um academically when I'm there.

THANDIWE: Okay. But then now um your opening statement was “Stellenbosch is easier to get accepted into” quoting that and then you said that’s false.

MANDISA: No man. I said...OK maybe I didn’t phrase this properly.

THANDIWE: OK but my my-

MANDISA: Stellenbosch isn't easier to get into.

THANDIWE: Okay. But now you were you were rebutting or disagreeing with what he had written-

MANDISA: Yes disagree-

THANDIWE: which is that Stellenbosch is easier. And s- you were saying that Stellenbosch-

MANDISA: It’s not-

THANDIWE: is harder

MANDISA: Ja, it's not easier.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: That's what I meant...

THANDIWE: OK, but then-

MANDISA: I just wasn't.

THANDIWE: Now taking into account the hardness of it or how difficult they make their entry exam, um...how many people do you think actually do get in here, and what do you think then their acceptance I don't know other um um... um what is the word um criteria is?

MANDISA: Um from what I've actually um gotten from speaking to other students is that um, S- um Stellenbosch is the only place they considered simply because that's um where they could get all the funding and all the um assistance that they need to be here, but the people that actually um applied to UCT as well, were the people who actually um just wanted the easy way out. Ja so I kno- I I can't speak for everyone obviously, but from what I've been getting... i- i- it's that the the the people that actually went to UCT just wanted a easy way out. Um I've got 90% of my friends from high school all went to UCT, and tell you now they battling.

THANDIWE: Mm hm. Which says what about UCT standards to you?

MANDISA: Not standards.

THANDIWE: Okay. How are they battling then? In what (inaudible)-

MANDISA: They are battling simply because of the the uh the the resources that they have; the the uh the kind the the kind of assistance. I mean I find here, if I am struggling with something, I can approach the professor and they will make time for me, there is no such thing in UCT. There isn't.

THANDIWE: And this is from a report from your friends?

MANDISA: All of them, yes.

THANDIWE: And how many friends do you have in UCT?

MANDISA: Nineteen.

THANDIWE: Nineteen?

MANDISA: Ja.

THANDIWE: OK, so from nineteen of the whole demography of UCT, that is the conclusion you're gonna make that professors in UCT are mind you what programmes are your friends in or what departments?

MANDISA: They all doing different things um.

THANDIWE: Mm hm, spanning from?

MANDISA: Ooh *jinne* [jənə]. None of them is doing um...anything to do with languages. But um

THANDIWE: Okay, so that's already excluding that...department. OK

MANDISA: Um the the one is doing science, medical sciences or something like that. Um the other one is doing, what is it called? She's majoring in Industrial Psychology if I'm not mistaken. The other one is doing IT. Another one is doing um...what is it called? It's also some medical thing to do with um... what is it now. I can't remember the name of the programme, but they focus on um...

THANDIWE: OT, physio, speech?

MANDISA: Ooh *jinne* [jənə], no.

THANDIWE: None of those.

MANDISA: It's-

THANDIWE: Biochemistry.

MANDISA: No.

THANDIWE: OK besides the point but what sort of personalities are they? Are they the type that are you know outspoken and will actually walk up to the professor and..."Look I'm no-"

MANDISA: Yes.

THANDIWE: "I'm struggling to understand this, sit down and teach me." And they attend all of their tut lectures and stuff?

MANDISA: Definitely. I don't I don't associate myself with um people that...that would bunk class.

THANDIWE: Careful there, you are all the way in Stellenbosch; they are all the way in UCT. Their reports may not reflect what they actually-

MANDISA: No w- What I'm saying is um-

THANDIWE: What they actually do.

MANDISA: What I'm saying is, um I know my friends...I I actually am very careful who I hang out with. I watch people like for months before I even say the first hi.

THANDIWE: OK but then you gotta understand they are all the way in UCT.

MANDISA: No, this is how I made friends with them from scratch, so I studied their personality long before that to be able to determine, do I really wanna spend time with such people; um simply because I'm very picky.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: I'm extremely picky.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: So um from what I know about them, I was able to um come up with that conclusion that these aren't people that are just gonna hang out um at-

THANDIWE: And these are relationships sorry to um break you off but these are relationships that you formed in high school?

MANDISA: Yes.

THANDIWE: OK. Do you take into mind or account that your personality totally changes? Because of the environment you're in?

MANDISA: Ja I do. Ja.

THANDIWE: And therefore arguably your friend's personalities are not exactly the same as you-

MANDISA: Not exactly the same, but um the the the...the base...the root from which I'm speaking...isn't something that you would totally throw away.

THANDIWE: Alright. Okay. Um I'm asking all of these questions because OK one I have experience of UCT and it is excellent. Their standard of service is shocking at times, yes, I will agree to that, but in terms of professors and tutors and whatever be willing to help you out? It's brilliant and I did speech therapy which opened me up to Linguistics, um psychology and health sciences and um all of those.

MANDISA: OK, now...stop you there... Um I had a conversation with Professor Oosthuizen at (inaudible), and he actually mistaken – he he he mistook me for you, and I was-

THANDIWE: and Professor Oosthuizen is...I should know this

INTERVIEWER: He's...the syntax...

THANDIWE: Oh. Oh OK.

MANDISA: And I I was still trying to figure out who is this person-

THANDIWE: Really?

MANDISA: because he asked me ja “Are you doing um speech lessons?” I was like “what?”

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: I I didn’t even know you actually.

THANDIWE: But why would it be me though, did he mention my name?

MANDISA: No, simply because-

THANDIWE: OK, you like me speak well and therefore you should be me. That’s why I thought you were (inaudible)

MANDISA: Tha- that’s that’s that’s what I I I um well I that’s what I thought now when you mentioned that, so i- it was just... [intervenes]

THANDIWE: He’s never met me by the way. He doesn’t know what I sound like.

MANDISA: Okay. We’re at- that means my search is still on. That means my search is still on.

THANDIWE: Because of the way he speaks out.

MANDISA: Probably, I don’t know.

THANDIWE: But anyways. Um

MANDISA: He wouldn't explain.

THANDIWE: Back on this. I really think he is um arguing from a...racial point, I do. Because he makes very interesting statements in terms of how, or rather uses very interesting adjectives to describe the UCT – Ag um, Ja actually the UCT versus Stellenbosch calibre of people, and what comes out for me here is the whole racist thing. Um taking note of... this is where he comments on how...they treat him, the things they shout out.

MANDISA: Oh OK ja.

THANDIWE: Do you remember that part, what is it? ... There we go, paragraph 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, um “Every time I'm in Stellenbosch I find myself waiting for someone to turn um to run up to me and go it's a joke, it's a joke.” Um skipping down a couple of...well actually the next sentence. “When I hear ‘Die Stem’ blaring through residence windows and guys in cars are driving past and calling us K lovers, I keep um waiting for somebody to tap me on the shoulder and go ‘I really had you going there.’” Um and then second last paragraph he goes on about how lovely UCT is and then goes um, “Soon they will be calling a black woman ‘boss.’ Um and perhaps in the midst of that great bleak- uh bleakness it might make their pitiful existence a bit less depressing um to think that they beat us blah blah blah whatever. But for me, um this is purely a race-related article; well in part – it's a race related article. And then he mentions somewhere that they are or rather UCT is a more mixed environment than Stellenbosch is... And taking us back to our earlier discussion on um the criteria used for acceptance, the whole BEE thing has been going

for quite a while and on a lot of levels, or a lot of institutions it has played a role in terms of acceptance, who gets in, who gets out, and that has a lot of the time has nothing to do with what I can bring to the table, but the face of the institution. Therefore the number of black people I have the better off I look to everybody else, or the better off I'll do in the face of the world, because I'm conforming to the whole rainbow nation thing. So then it doesn't matter how badly I did in the Stellenbosch entry test, they would have accepted me anyways, because the argument is "Yay! One more black people in the speech therapy department. Wow." Mind you I'm the only black person in my first year class.

MANDISA: Wow.

THANDIWE: Right. In UCT, however...I was one of partly five, still a small number, but the argument there is that s- um speech therapy is not necessarily one of the widely advertised or known um professions in this country. So that brings on some explanation-

MANDISA: Also um from my experience, I don't think a black person would necessarily-

THANDIWE: Exactly-

MANDISA: be-

THANDIWE: Why-

MANDISA: ...interested in something like that-

THANDIWE: Why do you say that?

MANDISA: Simply because they say they have this um approach that it's not my mother tongue so-

THANDIWE: There we go. So it comes in where how well-spoken we are bringing us back to Professor Oosthuizen's comment, right? Is a degree of of um I was reading actually this competition thing they mailed to a lot of people um a writing competition.

MANDISA: Oh I saw that.

THANDIWE: Um ja and the question was to comment on um, what what standards or what...

MANDISA: No, I didn't read that far.

THANDIWE: What makes you-

MANDISA: I knew I couldn't do it.

THANDIWE: What makes you approach that? And why was that? Why did you think that you couldn't do it?

MANDISA: Because at that moment I had too much pressure with assignments and stuff. So I I decided you know anything that's gonna um shift my attention from that is just a waste of time.

THANDIWE: (inaudible) actually very interesting, especially given your comments about why people think you're Xhosa, why people think you Coloured the minute you change your hair. And I'll tell you why, because the main focus of that particular um writing competition is

to find out what it is that drives people. What makes you formulate the perceptions that you have of the world of your environment of you- Ow brace stuck in cheek. Sorry. Um. So...

INTERVIEWER: Are you okay?

THANDIWE: Yes it comes out. I kinda like pluck it out.

MANDISA: I always get frustrated with the stuff.

THANDIWE: I'm sorry. I'm sorry that was a random moment. But um, ah train of thought come back come back come back. Um think about how people perceive themselves in the world and being proud. Back to this. Um clearly that perception of himself in the world and in his environment was threatened by his visit to Stellenbosch and all the other visits to Stellenbosch, which then for him cemented the kind of person a "Stellenboscher," sorry, is. That doesn't exist but the whole of Stellenbosch is, right? And um...to him that mentally said these are all racist people. And mind you, not at one point in this article does he say anything about a black person in Stellenbosch. That is interesting.

MANDISA: I actually picked that up um.

THANDIWE: Do you think he's never met anybody that's black in Stellenbosch? I mean if people if Stellenbosch is so diverse and so (inaudible) – the black rugby fan that is in the stand, that attacked him, that called him a K lover that sang Die Stem out of his window and you know.

MANDISA: Um, what I'm getting out of this um... what's the word now? Um taking into account his use of language is that he himself isn't black and-

THANDIWE: Hold on...Anton Taylor. Oh. Sorry. OK but-

MANDISA: Blonde moment.

THANDIWE: Sorry.

MANDISA: You do get black blondes.

THANDIWE: Absolutely.

MANDISA: Um, ja um and...obviously because of that um, he would immediately try and um find something wrong with another race.

THANDIWE: Hm? How so?

MANDISA: Because, if you think about it...um...from a student point of view...um, when w- when students have racial fights they always, always try and black I I I mean blame the black people.

THANDIWE: Okay.

MANDISA: And I've I've I've picked up...um, if there is something that is extremely wrong with an organisation, and there is a black person involved, or a black person taking part, it's always the black person's fault.

THANDIWE: OK

MANDISA: Because we have the reputation of wanting to degrade everything, wanting to to destroy something, because there's this um idea that um... the white person is the person who is always trying to build something better. So a person trying to make humanity um...better or um trying to um...you know l- l- live the right way, whereas we are perceived as the complete opposite of that. So um, looking at um...the way he uses language, I would say that um...his his view point isn't um...what's the word?

THANDIWE: Objective?

MANDISA: Ja, i- i- its its...he he had already from the start, before he arrived at Stellenbosch, had this idea okay... [intervenes]

THANDIWE: From previous visits mind you

MANDISA: Ja but but not no- not necessarily. He could have had this viewpoint long before he'd even been here, simply because of what he's been exposed to. OK? And that exposure for him caused him to have the idea beforehand, and whatever he experienced during that time just added on to it, because i- if I believe you know um global warming doesn't exist, if I see the signs I will still say, "But somebody's trying to trick me to believe that it does exist," simply because I have this firm belief within me. So whatever's gonna happen's not gonna change my viewpoint.

THANDIWE: OK, so...I'm listening to you and trying to understand where your argument moved from. Black people being bad and why that is to him in his story and in his perception of Stellenbosch.

MANDISA: Ja. Um w- what I'm um drawing into is that um...he... I- I'm I'm actually expanding on the fact that you say his article is actually um, mostly or partially um a racial thing, because there's no other way to to explain why he he has this attack um on Stellenbosch itself, and um why people actually shout at him and all these other things.

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: Ja.

THANDIWE: Um at some point you mentioned that um black people are seen as the degraders or whatever the breaker-downers of um, but it's getting clear. Kofi Annan.

MANDISA: Hm?

THANDIWE: Kofi Annan.

MANDISA: Kofi Annan?

THANDIWE: He was the Secretary General of the UN. He's black. Nelson Mandela more familiar with him? He's black. Martin Luther King, black. Mohammed Ali, Oprah Winfrey, black. See, Hitler, white. [laughs]

MANDISA: Okay, okay, okay. I get your point.

THANDIWE: There has been yes, um a perception of black people not being pro- let's keep it going. Why? I think it's extremely necessary for you to look back to where it comes from and what the reason behind that

usually is. I'm sure when he said that it was because of *toyi-toyis* and things and where was that coming from? Sorry.

MANDISA: You still have that today where somebody um...will um look at a situation and um think about who was there...

THANDIWE: OK.

MANDISA: and from that they will normally bl- blame-

THANDIWE: But do you think that-

MANDISA: people according to their race.

THANDIWE: Okay. So then that's probably the problem then, not because the black person is seen as you know the one being the perpetrator, but really trying to find a scape goat. And because there's a mentality, right?

MANDISA: Mm-hm.

THANDIWE: Uh which was something that I was arguing actually with somebody else the other day that, there's a problem with our country, with the way that we're trying to progress. OK? Um fifteen years in we're still trying to progress, and somebody feels that we should have reached that place already, and if not that place being racial equality place, and if not then what's going on? And the bottom line is mentality. That you can change the circumstance and the environment of the individual, but what's going on in his head, like you pointed out with the global warming thing, it doesn't make a difference. OK? Argue: the white population of South Africa which

I'm not saying is fact, but hypothetically. White population of South Africa has seen black people as, especially now with this whole BEE thing, as being "Oh my gosh! They now suddenly getting all of these privileges. Like seriously? Um I can't even apply for anything." I'm speaking from one perspective. Um "And look at them, they're not even qualified in these jobs" and what not, but they still getting them. OK so that's a mentality situation. That's a perception thing. Black person: "Hey BEE, I can absolutely do whatever, I can apply forever and I can get it; I don't need the qualification, I don't need whatnot." Or the other half um: "I've worked really hard for this, and a whole lot of people have worked hard before me, and so I'm going to make them proud; I'm gonna do something and do it right." Perception, whole mentality thing. And then put these two parties together um in a a work space or whatever? Something goes wrong – machine breaks um (inaudible) the white guy: "Ah maybe he didn't know how to use the machine or whatever." Black guy: "Dude! I told you, black guy didn't know how to use the phone, machine. [laughs] Yadayadaya so it has got to have been him. It is not necessarily how it goes down, but from what you're arguing that's it, right? Right, so then what does that then say? That is a perception thing and then it's not necessarily true, and where is the problem? Not in the colour of my skin but in your head, right? And then coming back now to this article, this guy is not arguing from a point of "I hate black people and it's always black people." He's actually saying, Stellenbosch looks down on the black person, and also on me because I'm English white and I'm not Afrikaans white, OK? He says in the last- second last uh paragraph again that "one day they will call black women 'boss'." What does that say to you? That there's something else that they calling black women right now and it's not that. And 'boss' says, it isn- it's not necessarily about um "Oh she'll have an iron hand on me for iron fist on me "

whatever but it says “She's in that position where she deserves respect, and so then right now she's not in that place. And it's not just Stellenbosch mind you, the Free State has the very same mentality, the very same perception throughout the country.

MANDISA: Wow.

THANDIWE: Especially after the Reitz thing they did at the university a couple of years ago, I think it was two years ago. But my point...my point is, this guy is not attacking black people, he's not... I think I might even go back and say, his whole privileged background thing has almost nothing to do with it. He's infuriated by the standards of the mental capacity that he has experienced in his visits in Stellenbosch. He's infuriated by the fact that this calibre of person still exists in a country that has worked really hard to get to a place where there's equality on all grounds, and has worked really hard to ensure that everybody is accepted, everybody is catered for. When he mentions um The Stem blowing from through residence windows, he doesn't say the National Anthem, he says, “The Stem,” which means a portion of the National Anthem, which is put in there mind you to bring in to say that we are actually a unit and representing everybody that is in this country, we gonna put The Stem in, but they take The Stem out and sing the whole thing. And Free State you still have people um flurrying around the um old apartheid fact. What can I say to you?

MANDISA: Ja I've I've heard about that.

THANDIWE: What does that say to you?

MANDISA: It's-

THANDIWE: Mentality. A whole I will not progress with this group, I refuse. This is where I'm at, this is the country that I see in my head and I will reflect that in my behaviour. What this guy is saying is that is unacceptable, and because this is the kind of people that I have met in Stellenbosch I have not had this experience in UCT. Therefore it's Stellenbosch-specific, and therefore it must be addressed. And given the whole freedom of speech thing that's going down these days. Julius Malema. [laughs]. Not very proud of him, but hey, (inaudible). He's literally not my favourite person on the face of the planet ever. And why? Not because he's black, not because he's a politician but because of the standard or the calibre of person that he is, he is disrespectful. He is... let's just say disrespectful. Let's keep it there.

MANDISA: He can become quite-

THANDIWE: And that's the bottom line

MANDISA: ...dangerous.

THANDIWE: Exactly, that's the bottom line. And I say what this guy is then doing is using that privilege. There's a platform that this guy has created, that he can say absolutely anything in whatever way that you want. And no one's saying it's right, but it's opened up doors for people to be as expressive as they want and could have been probably before because you know you kind of trying to keep the entertainment respectful, am I wrong? But in the same breath, I don't think this guy has disrespected Stellenbosch. Yes, he has come across very emotional and used you know adjectives that are very strong, but he has not... maybe a little bit (inaudible). But... point is

this guy is just saying this is not acceptable, not in a country that we're trying to build. Not in the era that we're at. Not in the phase of growth that we at, this is not it.

MANDISA: I hear you.

THANDIWE: And to have the future leaders being moulded in this place, future leaders of the world, not just this country but the world - being moulded in this environment spells danger.

MANDISA: Obviously, because no change will take place.

THANDIWE: Precisely. Therefore, bottom line this guy really wins in my books. I think he wins wins wins man! He wins. I'd love to th- read the rebuts though from the Stellenbosch uh perspective and an intelligent one. Not an emotional-driven one. Not a "you...whatever" name-calling but an intelligent...rebut. One that will disprove that this is what's going on in Stellenbosch. I mean I heard a lot of stuff about Stellenbosch before I came to Stellenbosch, and I suppose my mentality of kind of-

MANDISA: I also had this idea that it's it's very, very Afrikaans but um.

THANDIWE: What what is "very, very Afrikaans"? Break that down for me.

MANDISA: Everybody, everything you do, everything you say is just in Afrikaans.

THANDIWE: OK, besides language, is that all it said to you?

MANDISA: No, the culture. The approach to the way people do things. I mean um, I was exposed to the Afrikaans culture four years ago and I was shocked out of my socks, because-

THANDIWE: Were you shocked because it was so often or were you shocked because there was something seriously wrong with them.

MANDISA: There's something seriously wrong with it, because they believe they always right...in my opinion. Um...this might seem a little personal, but taking into account my dad's approach to everything that he experiences in life um...if he says it's right, it's right. I don't have a right to um question him, and...I find that what the majority of the Afrikaans um speaking average person that uh – well not – actually with the majority of the Afrikaans-speaking person...the same approach applies, where you will speak to someone and they will tell you listen, this is the way I see things, and as soon as you provide um facts on a different approach then they will verbally attack you, because that's not the way they see things. So um I've I had this perception that it was very Afrikaans, but I took the time to actually look into it and I found that that opinion is obviously um-

THANDIWE: Silly?

MANDISA: Ja.

THANDIWE: Interesting, because um well because you opened up a whole personal thing, personal experience. I've really struggled finding a place to stay here.

MANDISA: OK, that I didn't do, because I couldn't afford it anyway.

MANDISA: Okay, so where are you staying now?

MANDISA: At home.

THANDIWE: At home?

MANDISA: Ja, I drive in. Um Parklands

THANDIWE: OK. My experience finding a place here. I call in, right? And so you know introduce myself without my name, introduction as in what I'm doing, I'm gonna be a student at Stellenbosch, I need a place to stay, is there anything um available and this is calling in like you know real estate agents and stuff. Mmm and the first response is "Yeah sure we can look into it. Um just give us your email address and we will let you know, or your cell number and we'll let you know" whatever. Somebody calls me back, "Thandiwe hello?" "Oh hi. Um are you the girl who's looking for a place to stay?" "Ja, is anything available?" Ja sorry no." Okay fine. Um and then [makes noise] jumping over I find um ads um Neelsie and "Looking for someone to rent, urgently needed, um please respond to this number, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah." Um I respond. Okay? Um and it's um via text and I don't give my name on text unless I know you personally um and I don't refer to you by name either unless I know you personally. It's either Miss or whatever. And so my signout is my surname. We you know set up a meeting whatever, I go... and there's this "Wow you sound so well." That's the first comment I get. So what does that say to me? "You're black, what is wrong with you? Why do you sound so good?" Secondly, I thought you were white, you're black. D'you understand what I'm saying?

MANDISA: Ja.

THANDIWE:

And immediately “This place is not available anymore. I’m sorry.” OK? And if bothered if I cared enough to stick around and find out, this place is still available and they gonna wait, they willing to wait a little bit longer until an appropriately suiting individual; underline that whole statement... Um compress it black, non-black person comes along, then it will be available. Second...third actually third example. I was staying with a white Namibian lady. I have to say that she's Namibian because she is just, she couldn't be South African Afrikaans, to me anyways. Um and I don't generalise a lot but I have compared her against her Afrikaans – South African Afrikaans friends and she's on just a different level. Anyways, so I stayed with her at the beginning of the year, she was one of the real estate agents that I had approached and um we hadn't found anything, and so she said “Know what? Come stay with me for a little while and as soon as we find you something you can move out but if you don't like that come back here.” Fine. So um...while I was in her house I SMSed this other one lady and I asked um the lady I was staying with to help me translate the whole thing into Afrikaans. Enthusiastic reply, “Yes sure. Come over. Come take a look” whatnot. I went over. Same response. “Oh, we're looking for actually an Afrikaans-speaking girl. We're sorry. We can't take you.” And that for me, if it is not if that is not enough to give me a perception of “this is not an environment where I can thrive as a person of my colour because I'm not accepted because of my colour”, I don't know what will. And if this guy was exposed to something, absolutely on other levels are worse, because the minute you attack me physically, the minute you attack me physically there's an issue...there's an issue. And that already says how badly your mental perception of anything that's different from me or from you is, then that's a problem.

MANDISA: I hear you. Wow.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you so much. On that note, let me just stop you there, because you have spoken for exactly an hour.

End of Recording